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Hussein and Arafat statement is delayed

AMMAN (Reuters). — The outcome of crucial talks between Jordan's King Hussein and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat was still being awaited here last night. Asked why a promised communiqué had been delayed, PLO spokesman Abdel Mohsen Abu Maizar replied: "When there is an agreement we will announce it." Earlier, after lengthy talks between Hussein and Arafat, Maizar appeared to dash hopes of a PLO mandate to let Hussein negotiate on the basis of President Reagan's Middle East peace plan, by firmly pledging the PLO to stick to a rival Arab peace plan. His comments followed a meeting of the PLO executive committee, which had been summoned when Arafat's talks with Hussein entered a critical stage.

However, Arafat is remaining in Amman where he has been shuttling between the PLO office and King Hussein's palace for several days. And in the absence of a communiqué linking Hussein with the hard line from the PLO, the possibility that he and Arafat might yet strike some sort of compromise was not being ruled out.

The Reagan plan denies the PLO a negotiating role, and would have Hussein negotiate on the PLO's behalf. It envisages Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan following Israel's withdrawal from the areas.

The rival Arab plan, evolved at a summit at Fez last September, calls for an independent Palestinian state and for the PLO to be the Palestinians' sole legitimate representative.

Western diplomats said they had already assumed that the Hussein-Arafat meetings would not result in what the U.S. most wants — a PLO mandate for King Hussein to negotiate broadly on the basis of the Reagan plan.

But they had considered that the king and Arafat might agree on a compromise negotiating formula marrying the rival peace plans.

Abu Maizar said the PLO stood by resolution passed in Algiers in February by the "Palestine National Council" — the Palestinian parliament-in-exile — which "rejects the Reagan plan in its entirety and adheres to the Fez resolutions as the minimum we can accept."

He said the plans were contradictory, one recognizing Palestinian rights and the other not.



A Jerusalem policeman in riot gear fires a tear-gas grenade over Damascus Gate on Sunday to disperse stone-throwing Arab youths, who are hurling rocks at passers-by from inside the gate. Smoke seen in the picture is gunsmoke, while the tear-gas is released inside the Old City walls. (Ruhaimin Israhel)

Saudis not yet buying U.S. tanks

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The Reagan administration yesterday sought to play down a published report that the U.S. had a long-range plan to sell Saudi Arabia as many as 1,200 M-1 tanks, the newest and most advanced in the U.S. Army.

The State Department insisted that no formal request for the approximately \$2 million tank has been made by the Saudis, although spokesman Alan Romberg confirmed that the U.S. planned a detailed demonstration of the tank in Saudi Arabia this summer. Romberg also confirmed that Saudi soldiers were currently undergoing training for the tank at Fort Knox in Kentucky.

The New York Times yesterday quoted Defence Department and congressional officials as saying that some of the 1,200 tanks to be purchased by Saudi Arabia would be used by American troops "if they were deployed there in a crisis."

Romberg insisted that there were no plans to preposition U.S. arms in Saudi Arabia. Saudi officials have been extremely sensitive to such reports, fearing a negative response from other Arab states.

"The story covers a number of points and contains many inaccuracies," said Romberg when asked about The Times report.

The paper was said to have listed security in the Persian Gulf as second in importance to U.S. national interests only to preventing a Soviet invasion of Western Europe. It instructed the U.S. armed forces, by the end of this decade, to improve their "capabilities to project, operate and sustain forces" in the Gulf. The directive added: "It is also vital that we improve the capabilities of friendly indigenous forces."

U.S. is 'hopeful' Hussein will soon join negotiations

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The State Department yesterday said the U.S. remains "hopeful that King Hussein will soon be able to make an affirmative decision to join broader negotiations to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

But spokesman Alan Romberg said that the U.S. is still awaiting the outcome of Hussein's meetings in Amman with PLO leader Yasser Arafat.

"I think it would be premature to try to offer any statements before there were some sort of final result," Romberg said.

President Ronald Reagan telephoned Hussein late last week to encourage him to join the talks based on the September 1 U.S. peace initiative. According to White House officials, Reagan informed the king that Jordan's involvement is "critical" to the peace process.

Asked about Jordanian press reports that Reagan also had promised to obtain a West Bank settlement freeze if Hussein should join the talks, Romberg simply pointed to Reagan's September 1

Thai plane hits Viet unit in border battle

BANGKOK. — A Thai plane yesterday bombed Vietnamese troops inside Thailand in an important escalation of the fighting on the Thai-Kampuchean border.

It was believed to be the first time that Thailand had acted from the air to counter incursions by the Vietnamese along the ill-defined frontier in their battle against Kampuchean guerrillas.

Military sources here said the F-5E fighter-bomber made two strikes against Vietnamese forces estimated to number 150 men, dug in on the Thai side of the border, but they could not assess the casualties caused by the air strike.

Thai intelligence reports said that the Vietnamese forces were mounting their most determined military campaign against the Kampuchean insurgents since they toppled the Khmer Rouge government of Pol Pot in early 1979.

The intelligence reports said Hanoi was using forces in regimental strength, heavy artillery and Soviet-made tanks in the five-day-old offensive against the guerrillas on the Thai border. All three factions of the insurgent coalition were being attacked.

Fighting along the border has escalated to its highest point since the four-year-old guerrilla war inside Cambodia began.

Vietnamese troops yesterday appeared to have tightened their grip around the headquarters of resistance leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk as fighting continued in

Rumours spark new violence on West Bank

By DAVID RICHARDSON and MARGERY GREENFELD

Two officials of the World Health Organization flew into the country last night to conduct their own investigation into the mystery affliction which has affected hundreds of Arab schoolgirls on the West Bank over the past two weeks.

Israeli military officials in the area for their part are increasingly emphatic about charging that in most cases the girls are pretending and that the entire episode is largely the work of agitators who have discovered a new weapon against Israel.

A Red Cross investigator is quoted as having denied there had been any poisoning.

The continuing panic about "poisoning" which some Palestinians alleged is designed to get them to emigrate from the area, contributed to severe unrest and violence in the West Bank over the weekend.

Last night close to 200 schoolgirls were still reported to be in hospital after the "epidemic" spread south over the past two days, and hundreds of children were hospitalized in Hebron and Beit Jalla. Most were released within a few hours after reporting the now well-known symptoms of dizziness, headaches and abdominal pains.

Military authorities detained two carloads of youths in Nablus after they were alleged to have driven around the town spreading rumours that the water in the town was poisoned.

On Saturday a man driving a jeep belonging to the Hebron municipality was alleged to have announced by loudspeaker that the water in the town was unfit for drinking. But Mayor Mustapha Natshe claims that the municipal officials were actually reassuring residents that the water was potable.

The cases in the Hebron area came from the nearby village of Yatta and from some smaller villages in the area. New cases were also reported from Anabta in the Tulkarm area.

Meanwhile, at least 10 persons were injured, scores detained and several towns and refugee camps were placed under curfew because of stone-throwing and other incidents.

On Sunday a grenade was hurled

Second day of stonings and clashes in Jerusalem

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Police arrested 15 East Jerusalem Arabs during the last two days of sporadic violence, and a nephew of Kach leader Rabbi Meir Kahane was arrested on suspicion of firing a submachine gun to disperse Arab rioters.

On Sunday morning three passers-by were injured by rock-throwing Arab youths on Rehov Hagai, the main route between Damascus Gate and the Western Wall. Three youths were arrested, and the three injured were treated and released from hospital the same day.

An hour later about 70 Arabs, mostly youngsters, gathered on the Temple Mount, armed with clubs and rocks — apparently because of rumours of a Jewish nationalist attempt to break onto the mount. (story page 3).

Police commanders on the scene called on religious leaders from the Supreme Moslem Council to calm the crowd and within a few minutes all but one put down their weapons and went home. The police arrested one 18-year-old resister.

A while later at Damascus Gate, two youths were arrested, again for stone-throwing. At around 4 p.m. a large group of demonstrators gathered at Damascus Gate. When policemen called for them to disperse, the Arabs responded with a barrage of stones. Riot police were brought in and, using two tear-gas grenades, they dispersed the crowd and made eight more arrests.

In Neve Ya'acov, stone-throwing Arab youths disrupted traffic on Sunday evening. Police combed the area but made no arrests.

There were no arrests yesterday for stone-throwing, but outside Damascus Gate one man was arrested for inciting shopowners to close down their stores.

Kahane's nephew was arrested on Sunday on suspicion that he fired an Uzi on his way to synagogue to disperse stone-throwing Arab youths not far from Damascus Gate.

According to witnesses, the arrest took place inside the Hazon Yehzekel synagogue in the Moslem Quarter halfway between Damascus Gate and the Western Wall.

Kahane's brother, Nahman, the father of the arrested youth, and eight other persons were arrested yesterday during a demonstration outside the Russian Compound.

"Nobody was injured in the

Lorincz charges El Al with 'secret' Sabbath flights

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

EL AVIV. — A possible coalition crisis suddenly loomed last night when Agudat Yisrael MK Shlomo Lorincz charged that "El Al had resumed flights on the Sabbath and on holidays, thus violating a controversial article of the coalition agreement."

Insisting that his party would immediately take up the matter with the prime minister, Lorincz said that the coalition agreement "is 100 per cent clear and allows for no loopholes."

The airline maintained yesterday that when its planes and crews are under lease to other carriers, they may fly on the Sabbath. Lorincz stoutly insisted that this violates the coalition agreement.

El Al spokesman yesterday said that the airline and its charter subsidiary Sun D'O'or do not fly passengers or cargo on the Sabbath. Management's standing orders say the planes may not take off on Friday if they are unable to reach their destinations before the Sabbath begins, spokesman Kalman Bar-On said.

He admitted, however, that an El Al plane crew had been contracted to Cargo Airlines (CAL), and that it had flown to Cologne on Sunday night, thus travelling on the last day of Pessah. Such leasing to CAL is common, he said, and its flights are not covered by the coalition agreement.

Article 18 of the coalition agreement says: "It will be ensured in theory and in practice that El Al will not operate on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays, either in Israel or abroad. El Al planes will not take off, fly or land on the Sabbath or Jewish holidays."

Reached at his home last night, Mordechai Nivon, CAL's deputy director-general, said his company must fly produce on Saturdays to reach markets by Mondays. Each shipment is worth some \$500,000.

Accordingly, planes have been taking off when "CAL had no alternative," he said.

"We don't talk about it too much — but I understand (the Sabbath flights) were a tacit understanding," a senior CAL source maintained. He indicated that if the arrangement with El Al is discontinued, CAL may charter foreign planes.

Lorincz said that at a meeting with Prime Minister Menachem Begin shortly before El Al resumed flights in January, the prime minister had explicitly agreed there would be no flights on the Sabbath — not even of cargo.

Man on trial today for Jerusalem 'zealots' arson

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A man is being brought to trial in Jerusalem for having taken part in a burning of an apartment in the east quarter on Friday night.

Haim Krishkevsky, 23, has been charged with assault and malicious damage.

A group of vandals, apparently ultra-Orthodox residents of the adjacent Mea Shearim area, set fire to an apartment reportedly because of their objections to the occupants' way of life, which is not to the liking of the ultra-Orthodox. Police arrested one Krishkevsky.

During the last several months there have been cases of arson against night spots in town operating on Friday evenings. A number of secular residents of Orthodox neighbourhoods have also reportedly been forced out of their homes. After each incident, a group calling itself Keshet has claimed responsibility for the actions.

Meanwhile, a Jerusalemite is still in critical condition after being hit by a stone while driving his car through Geula last Friday night. Uzi Ritte is being treated at Hadassah hospital, Ein Karem.

Police are unable to question him to find out how he got his car past the barricades that close off the religious neighbourhoods during the Sabbath.

Even if Ritte dies as a result of his injuries, police are not optimistic about discovering the perpetrators.

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

	4.4.83	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	-2 28	7 45	Cloudy	
BRUSSELS	2 38	8 48	Clear	
CHICAGO	14 97	21 70	Clear	
COPENHAGEN	1 38	5 41	Clear	
FRANKFURT	-2 27	7 48	Clear	
GENEVA	1 34	5 41	Clear	
HELSINKI	0 38	8 41	Cloudy	
HONG KONG	10 66	22 72	Cloudy	
JAKARTA	14 57	24 78	Clear	
LONDON	8 42	17 63	Clear	
MADRID	1 34	14 67	Clear	
MONTREAL	0 32	3 37	Rain	
NEW YORK	0 32	7 46	Cloudy	
OSLO	0 32	3 38	Snow	
PARIS	1 34	8 48	Cloudy	
RIO DE JANEIRO	17 62	30 88	Clear	
SAO PAULO	17 62	30 88	Clear	
STOCKHOLM	3 37	13 34	Rain	
TOKYO	9 48	18 65	Cloudy	
TORONTO	2 38	8 41	Cloudy	
VIENNA	0 32	12 34	Cloudy	
ZURICH	2 38	7 45	Clear	

For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair.

THE WEATHER

Forecast: Fine weather to continue.

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	61	7-17	18
Golan	63	8-19	19
Nahariya	61	11-20	20
Safed	79	9-16	17
Haifa Port	79	15-19	19
Tiberias	54	11-24	25
Nazareth	62	11-22	24
Afula	62	11-22	24
Shomron	53	10-20	21
Tel Aviv	68	14-20	21
B-G Airport	58	11-21	22
Jericho	42	11-27	28
Gaza	71	13-19	20
BeerSheva	49	7-21	22
Eilat	26	15-28	28

Two killed, three hurt on roads

AFULA (Itim). — Two persons were killed and three injured on Sunday in two traffic accidents.

A 19-year-old soldier was killed and three other passengers injured, one of them seriously, when their car collided with a municipal garbage truck in the centre of town. The driver of the car was arrested.

A 40-year-old member of Kibbutz Lahavot Haviva was killed on Sunday morning when the pickup truck he was driving swerved off the road and struck a concrete abutment one kilometre from the kibbutz. He was crushed to death in the crash and firemen worked for several hours to free his body from the wreck.

Shlomo Temkin, 81

Shlomo (Sol) Temkin, a veteran leader of British Jewry, was buried at Herzliya Cemetery Sunday afternoon. He was 81.

Temkin was born in London in 1902.

During the 1930s and 40s Temkin was on the staff of the British Zionist Federation apart from wartime service in the RAF.

Temkin settled here in 1949, after persuading the British Zionist Federation that it was essential for them to have an office in Israel to maintain contact with the government and the Jewish Agency and to offer guidance and practical help to immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland.

In 1950 Temkin initiated the Foundation of Hitachdut Olei Britannia, of which he was the first national chairman. Temkin was awarded an OBE in 1968.

Temkin is survived by his wife, Leah (Lily), his son, Daniel, a dental surgeon at the Poriya Hospital, daughter Janet, Temkin-Ben-Dor, one of the first women pilots in Israeli Air Force, and grandchildren. (A.Z.)



Shlomo Chocner, Alyn's father, 77

Shlomo Chocner, named a Distinguished Citizen of Jerusalem for his more than 30 years of voluntary community service, died over the weekend aged 77, and was buried at Jerusalem's Kiryat Shaul cemetery on Sunday.

Chocner was born in Tarnov, Poland in 1905 and settled here in 1933. Together with his wife, Lotte, he founded the once prominent Royal Ladies' fashions shop in Rehov Shlomzion Hamalka, which closed down in 1976.

Chocner became interested in disabled children shortly after the War of Independence. His voluntary work was crowned in April 1971 when, as chairman of the Alyn Orthopedic Hospital and Rehabilitation Centre for Disabled Children, he opened its spacious new building in Kiryat Hayovel.

He is survived by his wife Lotte, two sons, Michael and Ronny, his daughter Dina and five grandchildren.

HOME AND WORLD NEWS

Ministry 'finds' funds to renovate Hassan Bek

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — One day after the collapse of the minaret of the Hassan Bek Mosque — whose renovation has been delayed for a year-and-a-half for "lack of funds" — the Ministry for Religious Affairs announced on Sunday that money for the renovation is available.

The ministry, along with other government bodies, had announced the same decision on January 5, when it said that renovations would start "in a few weeks" and cost IS35 million. The new estimate for repairs is IS40.m.

Ministry Director-General Moshe Salomon is due to meet with the Jaffa Wakf (Moslem Religious Trust) chairman Abed Kabub today, to complete the final plans for the mosque's renovation.

If the mosque's renovation does not begin within a week or two, engineers and contractors from Jaffa and the Little Triangle, with the help of Jaffa's Arab residents, will begin rebuilding the minaret, it was announced yesterday by Nahla Shaker of the Committee for Jaffa's Arabs.

Committee members are holding a daily protest vigil, from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., demanding to restore the mosque to Jaffa's Arab community. They are also collecting signatures on a petition to this effect.

Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat visited the mosque at noon Sunday. "Now they're all running like mice," Lahat said to the Arab dignitaries who met him there, referring to Religious Affairs Ministry officials who had been there two hours earlier. "I knew as soon as I heard that the minaret collapsed that they would get into action."

Refusing a request to discuss the situation with the Arab community's representatives before giving an interview to the Israel Television crew pressing round him, Lahat turned towards the television camera and said that the municipality was the only body to press for the mosque's renovation, while government authorities delayed it.

After the interview, Lahat told Kabub that it would be unwise to proceed with the renovation of the minaret alone, while other parts of the mosque might collapse. He said he would press the Religious Affairs Ministry to go ahead with the renovation of the entire mosque.

Municipality spokesman Roni Rimon said yesterday the city would finance the plans for the mosque's renovation, which cost IS5 million, even though the project is a national one. The municipality offer is also considered to be related to the forthcoming local elections this fall.



Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat (centre) speaks with Moslem residents of Jaffa on Sunday in front of the quarter's Hassan Bek mosque, whose minaret collapsed on Saturday morning. (Uzi Keren)

Doctors delay deepening of strike, no talks planned

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Israel Medical Association does not intend to intensify the doctors' strike, now in its second month, "at least for the time being," IMA spokesman Dr. Shmuel Friedman said last night.

"We decided that what we're doing now is enough," Friedman told The Jerusalem Post.

The IMA has rejected out of hand the wage tables proposed by Treasury director-general Ezra Sadan last Wednesday, calling the suggested wage rises "lower than those outlined in the collective wage agreement (22 per cent)." No new meetings between the IMA and Treasury representatives will be scheduled until new proposals have been presented by the Treasury, Friedman said.

"What Sadan offered was a 50 per cent rise for the lowest grades (heavily and zayin). But the fact is that most beginning doctors don't remain in these grades for more than two months, and that the absolute maximum a doctor spends at this level is one year," Friedman said. The wage rises offered to more

senior doctors ranged from 28 per cent to only 11 per cent for the top grade levels, and none of this comes near what the doctors are seeking, Friedman said.

Meanwhile, disciplinary proceedings opened on Sunday against psychiatrist Dr. Haim Belmacher, who has defied the strike since it began on March 2. Belmacher, a department head at the capital's Ezrat Nashim hospital, is charged with disregarding instructions from the IMA and carrying on with his regular work, as well as with criticizing the conduct of the strike in the press.

Belmacher faces a maximum penalty of expulsion from the IMA, which would effectively block any future promotions or the receipt of funds from foundations to conduct research.

At a three-hour hearing behind closed doors on Sunday in Jerusalem, a three-man panel headed by Prof. Shaul Feldman, heard evidence and decided to continue the proceedings on April 25, after Belmacher returns from a previously scheduled lecture tour in South Africa.

Moslem Quarter woman 'beaten by Jews'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A 65-year-old woman from the Moslem Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem was hospitalized Sunday evening, claiming she had been beaten up by Jews.

Fatima Abu Miall, who says she has been threatened in the past by Jews because her home, near the Street of the Chains, borders on several yeshivot, was at El-Mukasseem hospital in East Jerusalem last night.

A police spokesman said that an investigation has begun, but noted she had not been stabbed, as reported by some sources on Sunday night.

A hospital source said that the woman "was seriously beaten." She reportedly told hospital officials that she was attacked when her husband went to prayers on Sunday evening.

7 Taiba youths held after protests

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TAIBA. — Police arrested seven persons during two days of disturbances over the holiday here. Local youths held protest demonstrations believed to be connected to the suspected epidemic in the nearby town of Tulikarm, across the Green Line.

The Taiba demonstrations started on Sunday night, and the following day youths blocked the Kfar Sabat-Tulkarm road and stoned a police jeep breaking its windshield. Taiba mayor Abdel Latif Habib and his fellow council members made strenuous efforts to calm the demonstrators.

Red Cross: Lebanese harassing Palestinians

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — The International Committee of the Red Cross has told IDF representatives in Sidon that Lebanese villagers who have returned to the area from further south have been threatening Palestinian refugees in the camps and villages around Sidon.

Tel Aviv lifeguards return to work

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The city's lifeguards resumed regular work yesterday, following a regional labour court ruling that they must work on holidays and Saturdays. The court ruling referred to the three beaches — Gordon, Sheraton and Frishman — which operate throughout the year.

IS8.7b. printed in March

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Economic observers in Jerusalem believe the huge injection of money registered during March, IS8.7 billion, has greatly reduced the chances of lowering inflation in the short term. But the figure for financial year 1982 was 25 per cent less in real terms than that for financial year 1981.

Observers pointed out that the new sums could find their way into the commodities and services markets, putting sharp upward pressure on prices.

The IS8.7b. figure represents a record in nominal terms, but not when inflation is taken into account. It came after several months in which relatively moderate sums of money were printed, a fact attributed by the Treasury to the success of its policies.

Figures disclosed on Sunday by the Bank of Israel show that during fiscal year 1982 the Treasury pumped some IS35b. into the economy, about IS16b. above the Finance Ministry's targeted figure for the year.

Bank officials were sharply critical of the Treasury and stressed that the bank has insisted time and again that the government must cut expenditures.

Officials said that the excess of government spending over revenue during last month was even bigger than the IS8.7b. printed, since some of this deficit was covered by sales of bonds to the public which

reduced the need to print money.

According to the officials the bank must continue its policy of tight restrictions on credit to prevent increased inflationary pressure. Thus the public will find it hard to receive loans from commercial banks.

Economic sources said that the figure for money printed in April is expected to be high, since most of the government ministries will try to spend sums left over from their 1982 budget. They said that the Treasury feared it could reach IS10b. and was making every effort to reduce this.

The Treasury explained that despite the large figure injected in March, the money pumped into the economy during the financial year 1982 was 25 per cent less in real terms than the figure for financial year 1981.

The Treasury explained that the monetary injection for March was caused by a last-minute effort by several ministries to spend sums allocated to them during the fiscal year, before it came to an end last Thursday. There was also the payment of March salaries in the civil service before the end of the month instead of on April 1.

In addition, a strike in the computer unit of the tax authorities caused a delay in payment of large sums in taxes. The Treasury estimates these arrears total some IS4 billion, and this made it impossible to fulfil the revenue target for the month.

MK Ron angered at ban on village league heads

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Mapam MK Imri Ron has protested to Defence Minister Moshe Arens over the ban on village league leaders in the West Bank from attending a meeting with Israelis, mostly from kibbutzim, in Beit She'an. The head of the West Bank civil administration, Shlomo

Ilyia, banned the league leaders from attending a meeting scheduled for tomorrow in Beit She'an under the motto: "No to terror — yes to peace."

Former civil administration head Menahem Milson was also scheduled to attend the meeting.

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of our dear mother, grandmother and great-grandmother

Frima (Fanya) Kaner ♀

The funeral procession will leave from 5 Dafna St., Tel Aviv, today, Tuesday, April 5, 1983, at 12:00 noon for the Kiryat Shaul Cemetery.

Families: Bell and Kaner

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved

BERT FOREMAN ♀

Rehovot (Glasgow)

Please contact the family for funeral details. Tel. 054-50179.

The Bereaved Family

A year has gone by since the passing of our beloved

ADA WEINSTOK ♀

We will honour her memory on Thursday, April 7, 1983 (24 Nissan) at 3:00 p.m.

Meeting at the entrance to Har Hamenuhot Cemetery in Jerusalem.

The Family

Austrian envoy flies home, meets PLO on prisoners

DAMASCUS (Reuters). — Austrian special envoy Herbert Amry left Damascus for home yesterday to report on talks about a possible exchange of prisoners between Israel and the PLO, a PLO official said.

Colonel Abu Ziad, who has been representing the PLO in contacts on a prisoner exchange, said Amry told him he would return to the Middle East after bringing Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky up-to-date on his mission.

The PLO wants to swap eight Israeli captives last September for a reported 1,000 PLO terrorists in jail in Israel and 5,400 Palestinians and Lebanese held in the Israeli prison camp at Ansar in Southern Lebanon.

The conditions laid down by the PLO include demands that Israel should admit it is holding 300 terrorists who have been missing since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last June and should give prisoner-of-war status to those held at Ansar.

Abu Ziad gave few details of the Israeli reply, saying only that the Israelis had insisted the International Red Cross be allowed to visit two Israeli prisoners who have not been seen since their capture.

The PLO says the two are being held by Ahmed Jibril's radical PFLP-General Command. The other six Israelis are in the hands of the mainstream Fatah group and have been seen regularly by outsiders.

Reports from Israel say that as part of any exchange deal Jerusalem is also asking for information on Israeli troops missing and believed captured by Syria.

Amry has visited both Israel and the Ansar camp during his visit to the Middle East. PLO officials in Amman said that at Ansar he was given a detailed list of Palestinians held by Israel. He also conferred with the chairman of the camp prisoners' committee, who gave him a report on conditions there.

U.S. officials doubt W. Bank sickness is merely hysteria

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — U.S. officials privately suspect that more than just mass hysteria is responsible for the mysterious outbreak of sicknesses on the West Bank.

In tending to dismiss Israel's official explanation that politically-motivated mass hysteria has led to the sicknesses, U.S. officials point to the fact that a handful of Israelis on the West Bank have also come down with the same symptoms which have afflicted hundreds of Palestinians girls in the region.

U.S. officials at the embassy in Tel Aviv and the consulate in Jerusalem have expressed scepticism over the official Israeli explanation.

PLO and other Arab accusations that Israel was deliberately "poisoning" or "gassing" the

schoolgirls in order to promote further Arab emigration from the West Bank were given extensive coverage.

That sweeping charge was not taken seriously by responsible U.S. authorities, although they clearly were not ruling out the possibility that some Israeli "fanatics" living on the West Bank may have been responsible for the outbreak of the illnesses.

U.S. officials are not pleased by the Arab League's demand that the UN Security Council convene urgently to consider the matter. Such a session, they fear, would merely further disrupt U.S. efforts to promote the Lebanese troop withdrawal negotiations and the need to bring Jordan's King Hussein into the broader peace talks.

Thousands spend Pessah in Sinai

With the end of the Pessah holiday, thousands of holiday-makers streamed north from Eilat and south from Galilee, yesterday leaving tons of garbage, notably in Eilat. The Mediterranean beaches were comparatively less crowded as vacationers preferred the more distant locations.

Thousands of Israelis crossed into Sinai, marking the first large influx into the peninsula since it was handed back to Egypt. The visits were facilitated by Egypt's easing of regulations for private cars crossing the border.

The head of Tabat border terminal, Yitzhak Hal reported that 4,500 Israelis in 350 vehicles crossed into Sinai. Hotels in Sharm el-Sheikh lowered their prices by 25 per cent and vacationers described the service as "pleasant and courteous." Two Egyptians, who inadvertently

crossed the border via a wadi near Eilat in their jeep, were returned to Taba after a brief interrogation.

In the North 5,000 marchers participated in the 20th Galilee march from the Horshat Tel nature reserve to Tel Dan. For the third year running, the march was in honour of the late Yigal Alon, (Him)

Shi'ite leader freed

BEIRUT (Reuters). — Israeli forces yesterday released a Shi'ite Moslem religious leader whose arrest had triggered demonstrations and strikes in South Lebanon. Beirut radio reported, Sheikh Raseb Harb, spiritual leader of the village of Jibait, was detained about two weeks ago because of alleged links with Palestinian terrorists.

The British Olin Society Ltd., and the Israel Office of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, Australia and New Zealand, together with Israel Industries Advisory Company Ltd.

deeply mourn the passing of

SHLOMO TEMKIN

Founder of the Israel Office, and its first director:

We extend our heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Temkin and all members of the family.

The Honorary Officers, The National Executive and all members of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland.

deeply mourn the passing of

SHLOMO TEMKIN

The founder of their Israel Office and extend sincere condolences to Mrs. Temkin and family

The Honorary Officers, Executive and all members of the Hitachdut Olei Britannia

deeply mourn the passing of

SHLOMO TEMKIN

and extend deepest condolences to his wife and family

With deep grief and regret we announce the passing of my dear wife, our mother, sister and grandmother

MITSI ERKOHEN ♀

The funeral will take place today, Tuesday, April 5, 1983 at 2:30 p.m. at the Herzliya Cemetery on Rehov Pinsker. We will meet at the cemetery gate.

The Bereaved Family

Folklore, food and fun at Mimouna festivities

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Thousands of Israelis of every ethnic background last night visited their North African friends and neighbours to celebrate the Mimouna and eat traditional Moroccan food.

Throughout the country community centres also held open house with traditional refreshments and rabbis blessing the visitors. Dozens of public figures called upon families in pre-arranged visits.

The central Mimouna celebration today will be held in Sacher Park in Jerusalem, with the public invited to take part. Special exhibits will be held of folklore of Jewish communities from all over the world, with craftsmen demonstrating their skills. At 2 p.m. there will be greetings from public figures. Other public celebrations will be held in parks throughout the country.

The closing event of the Mimouna is due to take place tonight at the Tel Aviv Cinema. President Yitzhak Nafon and Tel

Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat were due to be the guests of honour at Mimouna-eve celebrations last night at the home of Kfar Shalem Rabbi Shmuel Ben-Harush. There were angry scenes at Kfar Shalem several months ago when a man was shot to death by police when he fired shots in an attempt to stop demolition of an illegal building.

The public Mimouna celebrations in Ashdod have been cancelled in view of the death of Rabbi Meir Abuhateira at the end of last week.

This was announced by deputy mayor Adi Amsalem, who was responding to the call of the deceased's father Rabbi Yisrael Abuhateira of Netivot. The veteran Netivot rabbi, known as the "Baba Sali" is one of the most respected rabbis of the Moroccan community and believed by many to be a miracle healer.

The ban on celebrations in Ashdod does not include private "open houses" and parties.

המנונה



Gershon Solomon (left) and Rabbi Meir Kahane (right) lead prayers outside the Temple Mount on Sunday after their group of about 50 religious-nationalists was prevented by police from entering the Temple Mount itself.

Temple Mount break-in fails to happen

By ROBERT ROSENBERG

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Despite fears that they would try to break into Jerusalem's Temple Mount and would be aided by members of Gush Emunim, the Faithful of the Temple Mount merely held a prayer demonstration Sunday at the Mograbi Gate entrance to the holy site.

The group holds similar prayers on every major holiday.

Police were out in force, apparently concerned that the recent case in which 29 religious nationalists were arrested for plotting to enter the mount through a tunnel would inspire a large number of sympathizers to join Sunday's try.

The demonstration began with a half-hearted effort to break past the half-dozen policemen who barricaded the closed green door of Mograbi Gate.

The group then began a combination of speech-making and prayer, with their leader, Gershon Solomon, calling "on every Jew here to tell every other Jew that the time has come to end the disgrace that prevents Jews from praying on the mount."

After an hour and a half, the Faithful of the Temple Mount dispersed quietly.

Territories provide 5-6% of work force

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Arabs from the administered territories working in Israel are better established and better educated than in the past, but most of them still hold temporary jobs, according to a survey recently published by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

The data for the social profile of workers from the territories was collected in 1981, when there were about 75,000, roughly the same as today. Arab workers from the areas today comprise 5-6 per cent of the total work force.

Workers from the areas comprise about half of all the country's building workers, but 65 per cent of those in the Jerusalem area. They make up 20 per cent of the total industrial labour force. They comprise about 12 per cent of all workers in agriculture, but a third of this category in the south.

They have increased their representation in the service occupations over the years, and in 1981 made up 20 per cent of this branch, mostly in hotels and restaurants.

Most of the workers are married men, heads of households, and half of them are their family's sole provider. The percentage of the workers who had no schooling fell from 1975 to 1981 from 20 to 15 per cent, and the proportion with nine or more years of schooling rose in this period from 27 to 31 per cent.

About 80 per cent of the Arabs from the West Bank who work in Israel are villagers; while the rest reside in cities and refugee camps. Of those from the Gaza Strip, about half are from the camps, 40 per cent from towns and the rest from villages.

The labour force in the territories has fewer from villages and refugee camps, which indicates that Israel has become an important source of employment for these groups.

About 87 per cent of the workers from the West Bank return home at night, but only 73 per cent from Gaza do so. The rest sleep at their place of work or in make-shift quarters, most of them without permits.

In 1981, about a third of the workers had been employed in Israel for at least 10 years, and a fifth had been with the same employer for at least four years.

The tendency to stay with the same employer is higher in industry as compared to agriculture and construction work.

The portion of skilled workers rose from 27 per cent of the total in 1975 to 33 per cent in 1981, with many of the improved skills acquired on the job.

Israelis celebrate Pessah in Ethiopia

Jerusalem Post Reporter

For the first time since the 1974 revolution in Ethiopia, a group of Israelis have spent Pessah in that African state.

The group, which included MK Ora Namir, left Israel on March 23 and brought with them wine and matza as a gift to the Falashas, the Jews of Ethiopia.

According to reports received from the group, which is due to return this week, they were given a warm reception by the Falashas and Ethiopian officials. The tour was organized by Neot Hakikar.

7 more arrested for Land Day acts

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Seven more Sakhnin villagers were arrested on Friday morning on suspicion of raising PLO flags and disturbing public order on Land Day.

This made 25 arrests since the demonstrations on March 30. Seven others arrested for similar offences have been released on bail.

BORDER CROSSINGS. — The Transport Ministry has announced that, starting tomorrow the border crossing with Lebanon at Metulla and Rosh Hanikra will operate 12 hours a day, from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., and on Fridays until 3 p.m.

Family feuds leave 13 hurt in Galilee

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Thirteen Arab residents of Galilee were wounded yesterday, one of them seriously, in three different family disputes.

In Makr village, a long-standing feud between two families escalated when one man was stabbed. Several hours later, relatives of the stabbing victim armed themselves with knives and stones and attempted to storm the house of the alleged attacker.

A tenant of the house opened fire with a hunting rifle, wounding three persons, who were rushed to Nahariya Hospital. Police arrested six villagers.

In Yafia village, two rival clans fought with knives, chains and broken bottles, leaving three persons wounded, one of them hospitalized in critical condition. Large police reinforcements were called in to restore order in both villages.

In Nazareth, a dispute broke out in the local Moslem religious court between two families involved in divorce proceedings. Six persons were wounded by knives, stones and fists and were hospitalized with light to moderate injuries. Several of the brawlers were arrested.

Giant gas leak halted in Haifa neighbourhood

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — A large gas leak in the Neve Sha'anani neighbourhood on Friday morning was capped without casualties, but only after a tense three hours.

The leak occurred in a 4,000-litre underground tank serving a high-rise apartment building in Rehov Hanita.

Police evacuated several hundred people from the surrounding buildings and closed off the road to traffic as the dense cloud of gas hung over the area. Fire engines and ambulances were placed on standby, the civil guard helped police secure the area.

The company in charge of the central gas supply in the building eventually stopped the leak. By the afternoon the emergency was lifted and people were allowed back into their homes. No one was hurt and there were no reports of anyone claiming to feel ill because of the fumes.

Civilian air traffic doubles at Sde Dov

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Traffic at the Sde Dov Airport north of the Yarkon River has doubled during the past fiscal year, but moves to build up the area have been progressing slowly.

Some 160,000 people flew through the airport's civilian zone during the year, which ended last Thursday. Lazar Karmi, the airport's

director, estimated that the figure would have been higher if civilian planes had continued using it during the war in Lebanon. Civilian traffic had been shifted to Ben-Gurion airport during and immediately after the war, he told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Sde Dov became busier because Arkia shifted the focus of its domestic operations there from Ben-Gurion. Ninety per cent of all domestic flights are now believed to pass through this airport.

Lebanese Druse visit Eitan

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — A Druse delegation from Lebanon's Shouf mountains yesterday paid a farewell visit to Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan at moshav Tel Adashim, his home in the Jezreel valley.

Eitan reviews his career, finds he has no regrets

Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan expressed confidence on Sunday that Israel would reach an agreement with Lebanon, but said that the negotiators must show patience and stamina.

Israel, he said, would not withdraw "even half a millimetre" from Lebanon unless it is guaranteed that the PLO will not move back into Beirut and re-establish their military structure.

He was speaking in an interview with *Maariv* and *Yediot Aharonot* on the eve of the end of his five-year term as chief of staff.

Asked if he could recall any military operation he commanded which failed, Rav-Aluf Eitan replied: "I can't recall any failure, not a single one. It's possible that if someone conducts a search, he might find something. I don't remember wanting to carry out anything and failing to carry it out, that I set myself an aim and failed to reach it, that I embarked on an operation and failed. Not a single one."

Did you at any time as chief of staff feel emotionally worn out, saying to yourself, "I've had enough"? he was asked.

"Never in my whole life did such a thing occur. Our family is not built that way."

Asked what was his most difficult decision during his tenure, the chief of staff replied:

"There were several hard decisions, delicate ones, decisions where there was a hair's breadth between success and failure. One example is

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Jerusalem Post poll

Public would have chosen Herzog for the presidency

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Chaim Herzog would still have been elected president if he had taken part in a popular vote, instead of being elected by the Knesset, *Jerusalem Post* poll revealed yesterday.

Dr. Sarah Shemer, of the Modi'in Ezrahi Research Institute conducted the poll last month, some time before the Knesset vote. It was based on the opinions of 1,216 Jewish adults — excluding kibbutz members and settlers in Samaria and Judea.

Herzog was supported by 56 per cent of all those questioned. Among Alignment supporters 86.2 per cent were for him.

But even among Likud supporters, 44 per cent backed Herzog, with only 23.7 per cent of them

backing Justice Menachem Elon's candidacy. Among Alignment fans a mere 4.2 per cent would have voted for Elon, whose total support was 17.3 per cent.

Over 70 per cent of those queried were "undecided" and of these 20.6 per cent were Likud supporters, 23 per cent did not answer the question at all.

An overwhelming majority — 79.1 per cent said they thought that the candidate's personality was more important than his politics though another 11.2 per cent believed political support for the candidate was also important.

Only 1.5 per cent thought that political affiliation was most important in choosing a president. Nearly 6 per cent just "did not know," and 1.1 per cent did not answer.

Navon urges violence debate

By LEA LEVAVI

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The heads of Israeli's political parties should appear together on television to discuss the problems of verbal and physical violence, President Yitzhak Navon said in an interview broadcast yesterday on Army Radio. Navon said he had made this suggestion in a television interview after Emil Grunzweig's murder on February 10, but that it had been edited out of the broadcast.

"When I heard about the hand grenade being thrown at the Peace

Now demonstration, and about the violence which had preceded it, I felt that we had reached a crossroads where we could either stop and go back or continue to deteriorate," the president said.

"I am very concerned about the example elected officials set in the way they speak. Those who do not know how to use their tongues follow this example by using their hands, or worse."

On another topic, he said immigration on a larger scale from the free world is possible, provided there is a change in the quality of life here. "Jews who come here are amazed at our army, our agriculture, our industry; but fail to understand why we throw cigarette butts and banana peels in the street, why we push through the bus queue and why we are so rude," said Navon.

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Protesters vow to halt U.S. missiles

FRANKFURT. — Some 400,000 protesters massed in town squares throughout West Germany yesterday, ending four days of anti-nuclear marches and blockades at U.S. military bases.

In Berlin, police said 181 protesters were arrested and later released during the past two days, but organizers reported no violence or injuries at the nationwide demonstrations.

In Frankfurt some 30,000 demonstrators gathered before a downtown cathedral, waving a rainbow of anti-nuclear banners and balloons.

In Faslane, Scotland, more than 2,000 anti-nuclear protesters armed with daffodils besieged the Royal Navy's top security Polaris submarine base on the Clyde River on Sunday, decorating its barbed-wire fence with floral peace symbols.

Five demonstrators — including two women dressed as Easter bunnies — were arrested after scaling the 2.5 metre fence and occupying a sandbagged sentry post inside the Faslane base, a Ministry of Defence spokesman said.

The five were later released, but

the spokesman said they would be charged with illegal entry and refusing to leave a restricted area. One woman cut her hand while climbing the fence and needed medical treatment, the spokesman said.

The demonstration came on the third day of a planned four-day Easter campaign across Britain to protest the deployment of U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles scheduled to be based in Britain and other NATO countries later this year.

In another incident, pro- and anti-nuclear demonstrators traded shouts and pushes at the war memorial in Swansea, Wales.

Joan Peters, representing the newly formed Women for Defence, arrived with her husband and a half-dozen friends to lay a wreath of red poppies to the war dead, saying the group represented the "silent majority."

But about 20 supporters of the campaign for nuclear disarmament who had fashioned a web of red string across the enclosure tried to push Peters and her party away. Eventually the poppy wreath was placed at the base of the memorial.

In Basle, Switzerland about 5,000 protesters carrying blue balloons decorated with white peace doves and banners declaring "work instead of rockets," marched on the Swiss border town to West Germany yesterday.

The marchers, including unionists, political activists and members of Swiss and German peace organizations walked 8 kilometres.

At one of the biggest rallies, in Dortmund, West Germany, environmentalist leader Joseph Liener said the peace movement would make it virtually impossible for the West German government to deploy cruise and Pershing missiles.

He said the movement would mobilize public opinion to such an extent that the government would not dare to go ahead with deployment.

About 204 missiles are due to be deployed in West Germany unless the Soviet Union and U.S. reach agreement in the disarmament talks in Geneva by the end of the year, (AP, Reuters)



Col. James Mead, commander of the U.S. Marine contingent in Beirut, is greeted by a marine dressed as the "Easter chicken" on Sunday. (UPI Telephoto)



Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping (left) greets Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Peking's Great Hall of the People on Sunday. Story below. (UPI Telephoto)

Colombia quake aid piles up while officials sell food

POPAYAN, Colombia (AP). — Earthquake relief aid from France, Canada, the U.S. and other countries piled up in warehouses on Sunday while a Colombian government agency sold food to desperate survivors.

Tons of medicine, tents, blankets and other items that arrived from abroad were being stored in warehouses under control of military authorities. The governor of the state of Cauca, Amalia Salazar, had no explanation for delays in distributing foreign relief

items.

The Colombian radio station network Todelar described the relief effort as chaotic. One group of survivors was seen pounding on the doors of a police station, demanding tents.

Archbishop Silverio Buitrago of Popayan said in a radio interview that there were incidents of tents being sold to the homeless for \$400 each.

The quake struck this mountain city of 200,000 people early on Thursday, destroying homes and a

crowded cathedral, killing at least 240 people, injuring hundreds more and leaving three-quarters of the population homeless.

The government's Market and Agriculture agency said in newspaper reports that it was giving away 50 tons of food to the refugees. Officials of the agency were charging \$10 for about 2.2 kgs of food including coffee, sugar, noodles, dried soup and salt. They did not explain why they were charging money for the food.

In Jakarta, Indonesia a strong

quake measuring 5.5 on the Richter scale rocked the city of Banda Aceh yesterday, injuring scores of people, the authorities said.

And in Panama City, Panama a series of earthquakes that ended early on Sunday jolted the jungle between Panama and Costa Rica but caused no injuries, officials said.

A small earthquake measuring 4.5 on the Richter scale occurred early yesterday in southeastern Iran but caused no damage, Teheran radio reported. The area affected is about 700 km. southeast of Teheran.

Iran vetoes cease-fire to battle oil slick

BAHRAIN (Reuters). — Iran yesterday turned down an Iraqi offer of a limited cease-fire in their war to allow neutral experts to stem the widespread pollution of the Persian Gulf caused by war damage to Iran's Nowruz oil fields.

Iran said Iraq should first allow safe conduct to repair crews standing by to cap the two damaged offshore platforms in the war zone.

Iranian Ambassador Ali Shams Ardekani said here that Iraq also should retract a war communiqué issued on March 2 that said all ships close to the leaking oilfields would be considered military targets.

Shams is leading the Iranian delegation to crisis talks here of pollution experts from all the Gulf States.

Setting out the Iraqi offer, an official spokesman in Baghdad said the cease-fire, to let repair crews cap the shattered Iranian wells at the head of the Gulf, should be under the auspices of the UN or other international bodies.

"But the cease-fire should not give the Iranian regime the opportunity to clean up the waterways in the Gulf or enable it to sail its ships and carry weapons or ammunition through these waterways or clear the zone of naval mines," the spokesman said.

He said he was replying to a statement by Iranian Prime Minister Hossein Mousavi which, he said, attempted to blame Iraq for the oil slick.

Thick black oil pouring from

damaged installations has spread over an estimated 7,500 square miles.

Khalid Fakhr, chairman of the meeting here, told reporters oil was still pouring from one damaged well at the rate of 3,000 barrels daily. Two other wells were on fire, he added.

Shams, Iran's ambassador to Kuwait, said all the damage to the Iranian wells had been caused by Iraqi attacks on January 27, February 11 and March 2.

Shams said Iraq was bound by a Gulf-wide anti-pollution treaty which said anyone causing pollution had to pay to clean it up. He did not say how much he thought it would cost.

U.S. space shuttle lifts off on schedule

KENNEDY SPACE CENTRE, Florida. — The new space shuttle Challenger blasted off here yesterday on its first flight and the sixth U.S. shuttle mission in less than two years.

Powered by three liquid-fuel engines and two solid booster rockets, Challenger lifted off precisely on time at 1:30 p.m. (8:30 p.m. in Israel) after a trouble-free countdown.

The four-man crew — Paul Weitz, Karol Bobko, Donald Peterson, and Story Musgrave — face a busy day.

The engines performed perfectly, and 8 1/2 minutes after lift-off Challenger was in an orbit 283 kilometres above the globe.

Starting before dawn, NASA administration crews filled the shuttle's external tank with 1.5 million litres of liquid hydrogen and 53-3,741 litres of liquid oxygen.

The shuttle is taking an intriguing variety of experiments into orbit, including a canister of seeds to test the effects of space on plant growth and a snow-formation package sponsored by a Japanese newspaper.

A cylinder of experiments devised by aspiring astronauts from the U.S. Air Force Academy was mounted beside the seed and snow units in Challenger's cargo bay.

In the cabin the astronauts will conduct experiments that could lead to the manufacture in space of new medicines and tiny surgical aids that cannot be made on earth.

The air force package of six metallurgical and biological experiments should provide important data on subjects such as materials-processing and construction in space. (AP, Reuters)

31 killed as Indian police quell rioters

NEW DELHI (AP). — Indian police shot dead at least 31 persons and over 100 others were wounded in two days of political and communal rioting, officials and news agencies reported yesterday.

Twenty-two protesters were killed and 20 others were injured as Sikh militants began an eight-hour road blockade across Punjab yesterday morning, news reports said.

Hundreds of activists of the militant Akali Dal party started placing tree trunks on the roads and

staging sit-ins at junctions to block traffic.

Police fired shots after they failed to disperse the agitators with water and tear-gas. The Sikhs, some armed with guns, swords and knives, fought pitched battles and burned buses in a dozen cities in the state, the reports said.

The Akali Dal party has been agitating for the past eight months for political and religious concessions in Punjab, a predominantly Sikh state.

The Akali agitators, some armed

with spears and swords and some with modern firearms, crippled the state's highway transportation.

In Assam police trying to halt a mob attack against them and a refugee camp shot dead at least nine persons and wounded 15 others, officials said on Sunday.

In another development, the central government announced that 1,475 illegal immigrants had been "deported" to Bangladesh from Assam and another 714 "infiltrators" identified during the past year.



Gloria Swanson in 1942.

'Glorious Gloria' Swanson dies, aged 84

NEW YORK (AP). — Gloria Swanson, the silent American movie queen who became the epitome of Hollywood's long-gone golden years, died yesterday at New York Hospital after a brief illness. She was 84.

A spokesman for the hospital said the actress died in her sleep at 4:45 a.m. No other details were available.

Swanson, who began her career as a teenager, was active professionally into her 70s. A lifelong health buff, she attributed her longevity to good nutrition.

Her 1980 autobiography created a sensation when she discussed an extramarital love affair she said she

had with the late Joseph Kennedy, the patriarch of the Kennedy political family.

"If I didn't write about it, someone else certainly would," she later explained to reporters.

The petite beauty, whose personal life became as exotic and romantic as her movie roles, began her career at 15 as a bathing beauty extra in comedies and soon soared to stardom.

She left the screen in 1936, but returned to the screen in 1942 in "Glorious Gloria," the story of a demented aging movie queen.

Among her six husbands was a French marquis. Hollywood writers called her "Glorious Gloria" and

"Glamorous Gloria." Her regimen was said to include washing her face in pure spring water, and she was partial to fur coats and red carnations.

She was born Gloria May Josephine Swanson in Chicago, Illinois, the daughter of an army captain. A year after her 1914 movie debut at Essanay Studios in Chicago, she went to Hollywood and appeared in Mack Sennett comedies.

While many of her contemporaries were unable to make the transition from silent films to talkies, Swanson made films regularly until 1942.

Mubarak visits North Korea

TOKYO. — Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak arrived in Pyongyang from China yesterday for a one-day official visit to North Korea during which he will hold talks with President Kim Il Sung.

Mubarak was greeted by Kim at the airport on his arrival from a four-day visit to China.

Mubarak is due to arrive in Tokyo today on the third leg of a four-nation Asian tour, which will later take him to Indonesia.

He will make a brief stopover in the Sudanese capital of Khartoum on his way back to Cairo.

Officials in Peking said the Middle East situation was high on the agenda at meetings Mubarak had with Premier Zhao Ziyang, Communist Party General Secretary Hu

Yaobang and influential elder statesman Deng Xiaoping.

According to Chinese reports, Deng on Sunday told the Egyptian leader a settlement of the Middle East conflict depended on Arab unity and he hoped Cairo would play a greater role in strengthening this unity.

Mubarak told a press conference in China on Sunday that if the Palestine Liberation Organization and Jordan fail to agree on a Middle East strategy "a golden opportunity for peace will be lost."

He and Chinese leaders agreed to strengthen their cooperation in economic, technical and agricultural fields. They discussed continued Chinese military sales to Egypt. (Reuters, AP)

Zimbabwe senator murdered by rebels

HARARE (AP). — A white Zimbabwe senator, his daughter and a British visitor were killed when about 20 armed dissidents attacked a ranch while the family was having a barbecue, the government said yesterday.

The attack occurred on Sunday night at the ranch of Sen. Paul Savage in Matabeleland province about 130 kilometres south of Bulawayo, the provincial capital, authorities said.

Savage, his wife Betty, his daughter Colleen, 20, and a Briton whose name was not immediately released were grilling steaks when

gunmen stormed the ranch, told the four to raise their hands and then shot them, the government statement said.

The government said Mrs. Savage was critically wounded.

Savage, 70, was a senator of former prime minister Ian Smith's Republican Front Party in the upper house of parliament.

The gunmen, said by the government to be dissidents loyal to self-exiled opposition leader Joshua Nkomo, ransacked the ranch house and withdrew into the bush with "a large quantity of property," the spokesman said.

Black leader shot dead in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG (AP). — A community leader opposed to the government's seizure of black-owned land was shot dead over the weekend by a policeman trying to scatter angry protesters in one of the condemned villages.

The shooting of Saul Mkhize, a 48-year-old black, adds to the controversy surrounding the government's policy of removing so-called "black spots" from South Africa

and relocating residents to tribal homelands.

Mkhize was the elected leader of some 5,000 blacks in Driefontein, a sleepy farming village 200 kilometres east of Johannesburg.

The government says the area is on the site of a proposed dam. Farmers there protest that they purchased their land after the turn of the century and they are not being adequately compensated.

U.S. grants asylum to Chinese tennis star

WASHINGTON (AP). — Ignoring appeals from China, the U.S. Justice Department announced yesterday that the U.S. government is granting political asylum to Hu Na, a 19-year-old Chinese tennis star who defected to the U.S. last summer.

The decision ends a nine-month debate within the State Department over the foreign policy implications of accepting Hu Na's claim that she would suffer political persecution if she were to be returned to China. She defected while playing in a tennis tournament in California.

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Peking claims capture of top Taiwanese spy

PEKING (AP). — The Taiwan spy-master for North China who recruited agents, stole secret documents and transmitted them in invisible ink has been arrested with two accomplices here, the official Xinhua news agency reported yesterday.

"Our attitude towards sabotage by Taiwan's intelligence organization is to wipe it out," an official of

the Peking Public Security Bureau was quoted as saying.

It was the latest and apparently the most important of a series of alleged Taiwan espionage cases on the mainland.

The report said Li Jiaqi, 56, a "Kuomintang spy" for the rival nationalists on Taiwan since 1947, was arrested. It did not say when or give the circumstances.

Gandhi's daughter-in-law heads opposition party

NEW DELHI (AP). — The daughter-in-law of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on Sunday formally launched an opposition party pledged to identify alleged misuse and failures of the government and ruling party.

The rift in India's first political family grew wider than ever with the installation of 26-year-old Maneka Gandhi as president of the new Rashtriya Sanjay Manch, or

"National Sanjay Forum," the party's founding convention.

Sanjay Gandhi, Maneka's husband and the prime minister's son and political heir-apparent, died in a plane crash in June, 1980.

Accused of pursuing political activity hostile to her mother-in-law, Maneka Gandhi moved out of the prime minister's house a year ago with her infant son.

\$16 million in heroin seized at Kennedy airport

NEW YORK (Reuters). — Officials at Kennedy International Airport seized heroin valued at over \$16 million when they arrested a Pakistani attorney and an Air India employee, the U.S. Customs Service said Sunday.

Customs spokesman Michael Kaufman said 5.4 kilos of the narcotic were found on Saturday in the

raincoat and jacket lining of a 35-year-old attorney from Lahore.

The attorney, identified as Chaudry Alam, had arrived on an Air France flight from Paris.

The seizure came one day after 1.8 kilos of heroin were seized from an Air India employee who arrived at Kennedy on a flight from Bombay.

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Chills but No Fever

Reagan Bends Under Pressure By the Allies

More to pacify the allies than to persuade the Russians to compromise, President Reagan backed away last week from his insistence on all or nothing in intermediate-range missile deployment in Europe. His proposal — sharp reductions on both sides — was rejected yesterday by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, who said it could not lead to agreement in the deadlocked arms negotiations in Geneva. The President proposed an initial step toward his still cherished goal of total elimination of such missiles — cutting back from the 108 Pershing 2 and 464 cruise missiles the Allies plan to start deploying this year in return for similar reductions in the Soviet arsenal of 800 missiles.

Pressure for flexibility has come notably from Britain and West Germany, where popular support for the anti-nuclear peace movement was underlined by the thousands who demonstrated during the Easter holiday weekend. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko gave the expected Soviet reply at a news conference. He called the Reagan plan "absurd" because it did not include the British and French nuclear forces or missile-carrying American land and carrier-based aircraft in and around Europe but did include Soviet missiles in Asia. The Asian missiles, estimated at 100 SS-20's, could be moved westward in a crisis, according to the thinking in Washington, which has also promised Japan and China it would oppose any reduction in Soviet missile strength in Europe that would result in a buildup against them.

Mr. Gromyko's comments notwithstanding, the State Department asserted a few hours later that the interim proposal was still alive. Officials said they were "disappointed" by Moscow's "unconstructive initial response" but tried to draw comfort from what they saw as a "somewhat restrained" reaction.

Mr. Reagan did not put a precise figure on the reduction he proposed, thus throwing the ball into Moscow's court in the continuing battle for public opinion and leaving room for further concessions to Allied pressure. The limit that Washington is reported to have in mind would be 100 missile launchers with no more than 300 warheads on each side. But continuing to point to the 162 missiles in the British and French arsenals, which are independent of the NATO command, the Kremlin has said it offered only to reduce its missiles to that number if no American missiles are deployed.

For 15 senators of both parties, Mr. Reagan's offer was not enough. They called for big reductions in some 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons the United States has stationed in Western Europe such as short-range missiles, artillery shells and charges originally intended for use against submarines. A letter to the President suggested that reductions in these weapons would "fortify public confidence in our judgment."

MX Basing Revisited

Controversy over the defense of the American continent, namely how to deploy the proposed MX missile, was also due to start up again. A special Presidential commission decided last week that 100 MX's should be based in existing but strengthened Minuteman silos, a solution already rejected by Congress. The commission, named in January, was expected to report in about 10 days but whether Congress would change its mind is a "tough call," according to an Administration official.

Who's What in Nicaragua

As far as reporters on the scene could make out last week, the winds of war in Nicaragua were mostly wind. Little evidence was seen to support Sandinista claims that up to 2,000 "counter-revolutionaries" were fighting inside the country, with reinforcements massing across the border in

Honduras. But Nicaraguan charges that Washington was actively planning and supporting the insurgency were backed by a Honduran directly involved in American covert activities and by two American senators and a high Administration official, according to The New York Times.

The Times report said United States support included training and equipping the anti-Sandinistas as well as furnishing them with advice and intelligence based on reconnaissance flights by United States Air Force pilots which supplied photographs and intercepted Nicaraguan communications. The Pentagon declined to comment. Administration officials insisted the United States sought only to harass the regime as a way of preventing arms from reaching the rebels in El Salvador. But the Honduras said the real objective was to overthrow the Sandinistas.

Meanwhile, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Intelligence Committee, said a growing number of senators "question whether the C.I.A. is complying with the law" — a Congressional amendment passed in December that prohibits American support for a military effort to topple the Sandinist Government.

Senator Moynihan called for hearings to question Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of State George P. Shultz and other officials. "It is not optional to obey the law in our Government," he said. Publicly, the Administration declined to confirm or deny American involvement with anti-Sandinista forces in Honduras and Costa Rica. One official suggested the noncommittal stance was "a bit of psychological warfare" intended to unsettle Nicaraguan leaders and persuade them to stop aiding fellow leftists fighting in El Salvador.

Salvadoran rebels, meanwhile, claimed the defeat of two companies of crack Government troops from what is known as the "gringo battalion" because it trained last year at Fort Bragg, N.C. The rebels said they killed 17 militiamen at San Isidro in Morazan province near the Honduran border, then ambushed and killed 67 soldiers sent to retake the hamlet. Salvadoran commanders dismissed the casualty figures as "exaggerated to demoralize the army."

The Hot Seat at the E.P.A.

Environmentalists had a few good words last week for William D. Ruckelshaus, President Reagan's nominee to be the new Environmental Protection Agency Administrator. But it was clear from the latest reports from the field that the man who first led the agency in 1970 faces an uphill struggle this time around.

At a news conference called by leaders of nine national environmental organizations, Mr. Reagan and his top aides were called "ecological illiterates." The Administration must continue to "clean house" of appointees who pursue anti-environmental policies, they said. Referring to Mr. Ruckelshaus's earlier tenure at the agency, Louise Dunlap of the Environmental Policy Center said he was a good administrator who "maintained open lines of communication with all parties affected by agency decisions, and enjoyed a reputation for fairness even during times of policy disputes."

She offered these accolades as a "stunning contrast" to Interior Secretary James G. Watt. The Interior Department came under new criticism, meanwhile, after officials acknowledged that a legal opinion written by one of the department's regional attorneys had been ordered rescinded. The opinion said Mr. Watt might have had no legal basis for a move last year that relaxed Federal protection over thousands of acres of Western land.

While John W. Hernandez Jr., who resigned as acting E.P.A. head, was settling into a \$245-a-day consulting position at the Energy Department, the agency reported new test results on contamination around the Dow Chemical Company's Midland, Mich., plant. Mr. Hernandez departed under charges that he had allowed Dow to alter a previous report blaming the company as "the major source, if not the only source" of dioxin in the region. The new findings pointed to Dow as a significant source of pollution in nearby waters.

On another hot spot, the Justice Department announced it would sue some or all of more than 200 companies that dumped wastes at the Stringfellow Acid Pits in California. The E.P.A. had planned to give the state \$6.1 million last summer for a cleanup, but the head of the Justice Department's Division of Land and Natural Resources said the costs "could run as high as \$40 million." The 11th-largest dumper at the site is the Weyerhaeuser Company, where Mr. Ruckelshaus has served as senior vice president.



President Reagan

Yuri V. Andropov



1974: Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev with President Nixon in the Soviet Union discussing détente.



1979: President Carter and Brezhnev in Vienna meeting at which the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty was signed. The treaty was never ratified by the Senate.



1961: Vienna meeting between President Kennedy with Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev went badly. Cuban missile crisis followed in October 1962.

Despite Harsh Talk, New Cold War Is Discounted

By LESLIE H. GELB

SOVIET and American experts are trading ugly charges, military spending is being further pumped up, each side is on the verge of deploying a new generation of nuclear missiles, and there is talk of another cold war. Yet the weight of expert opinion inside the Reagan Administration, shared by many private specialists on the Soviet Union, is that while relations between the two superpowers are very bad — Secretary of State George P. Shultz called them tense last week — they are not particularly dangerous. Ultimately, these experts say, the military buildup, while cause for concern, will lead to serious negotiations.

Why so much relative calm in the face of the storm? Why these judgments at the very time when thousands are taking to the streets in Europe to protest plans for the deployment of new American missiles and Americans are showing rising alarm about nuclear war? Are the demonstrators too alarmist or are the experts too calm?

"We're a long way from a new cold war," argued William G. Hyland, a former adviser on Soviet affairs to Henry A. Kissinger and now at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "My gut feeling runs in the opposite direction. In the past three to four years, despite a serious deterioration in rhetoric, both sides have been much more cautious in behavior, and from time to time, each has made almost desperate attempts to stay in contact."

Or take the views of Harvard Prof. Adam B. Ulam, another specialist on Soviet relations: "We are in a very indeterminate period. The Russians have many serious problems of their own internally and externally, and are especially cautious now. We have limitations on our actions as well. The rhetoric on both sides has been unfortunate, but the Russians are pragmatic and will look for a middle way."

"If we do start deploying missiles in Europe in December," he added, "they'll start negotiating."

Arnold L. Horelick, director of Soviet studies at the Rand Corporation and formerly the top

Soviet expert at the Central Intelligence Agency, said, "The absence of a serious dialogue has made the world a more dangerous place. But I don't think it adds up to a period of greater danger, if that means armed conflict."

These are generally the views heard around the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency. There is concern, to be sure. But officials see Moscow as heavily burdened by a stagnating economy, tied down in Afghanistan, Poland and elsewhere, and above all, still restrained by unsettled lines of power in the Kremlin. The prevailing judgment is that Yuri V. Andropov, the new Soviet leader, has not established himself firmly, and that Moscow is unlikely to be adventurous until these internal matters are resolved.

There are also some in the Pentagon and the White House who go farther and say that President Reagan's hard line is the only way to deal with an adversary they believe is bent on destruction of the American way of life and values, that the real choice is to play rough or essentially give ground over time.

Moving on Two Fronts

Mr. Reagan moved last week to lower the decibel level in one area and to keep the drums beating in others. On Wednesday, laying aside for the moment his demand for the elimination of all intermediate-range nuclear missiles, he announced he would be willing to accept any reasonable equal level of missiles below the planned American deployment of 572. Laying up to expectations, Moscow, with some 800 missiles already deployed, was not impressed. Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko called a news conference yesterday to denounce the "absurd" proposal as offering no chance of agreement in Geneva. On the other hand, Western European leaders applauded, not surprisingly, since Administration officials acknowledged that the move was aimed more at answering their concerns and quelling anti-American feeling in Europe than achieving a breakthrough in Geneva.

On Thursday, in Los Angeles, Mr. Reagan took a hard shot at nuclear freeze advocates, charging they were pulling "the rug out from under our negotiators in Geneva." To some,

this seemed to echo the hard-nosed domestic politics of cold war days. He also called the American people to the "great moral struggle" with Moscow, adding ominously that "there have been increasingly serious grounds for questioning their compliance with arms control agreements that have already been signed."

George F. Kennan, the historian and diplomat, was among the few interviewed who expressed alarm. "The situation is worse now than at any time since the Korean War," he declared. "I find this situation deplorable and dangerous, and I cannot believe that it was necessary."

Marshall D. Shulman at Columbia University was also pessimistic. "Relations are at a low plateau and could deteriorate further as new weapons systems are deployed," he said. "Everyone recognizes that this is fundamentally a competitive relationship, but a confrontational policy has real costs: risking escalation of local conflicts, complicating opportunities of dealing with every kind of resources and regional problem, and undermining relations with our allies because they lack confidence in our capacity to manage the competition with the Soviet Union."

Mr. Hyland and the others did not discount the costs and dangers. They understood that if the Geneva missile talks fail, the Soviet is in a position to build up its missiles faster than Washington and thus even to widen the missile gap in Europe. They understood the unpredictable effects of such a new arms race on the cohesion of the Western alliance.

But few experts seemed terribly confident about the benefits of improving relations. Differences over Afghanistan, Poland, missiles in Europe and many other issues are so deep that it is far from clear they could be resolved, whatever the atmospheric. The short period of détente in the early 1970's did not produce resolutions of outstanding problems, and many new ones were added. American leaders still cannot agree on whether in that short period things were beginning to work out or getting worse.

As the experts circle the policy questions, much of what they say rests on the unlikelihood of a superpower war and the prohibitive dangers of escalation into nuclear conflict. But perhaps many problems short of that, not fully seen or understood now, may fester and grow. Mr. Kennan, in "Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin," wrote of the bankruptcy of Allied policy in the face of the Russian Revolution and the prospect of Russian withdrawal from the war against Germany, a bankruptcy based on "the inability to believe that anything other than war in Europe could be of real importance."

Drawing by Jean-François Allard; Gemini-Liberty/Penshop Brown (Reagan), Laurence Moore (Andropov); Black Star/Stone (Brezhnev/Nixon), Werner Wolff (Kennedy/Khrushchev); United Press International

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The World



Lebanese soldiers driving a newly acquired American M-48 tank through the commercial center of Beirut last week. United Press International

Withdrawal Negotiations Inch Forward

Israel and Lebanon last week seemed closer to agreement on a troop-withdrawal formula that could "let Lebanon be Lebanon," in President Reagan's phrase. The two countries agreed on the principle, but not the particulars, of joint supervision of a zone 25 miles north of the Israel-Lebanon border.

Jerusalem still wanted daily joint patrols in southern Lebanon and Israeli advisers to serve with Lebanon's unseasoned army. Beirut reportedly insisted its army alone would patrol, under an Israel-American-Lebanese commission.

Lebanon has also agreed to leave open its Israeli border, pending later negotiations. Israel reportedly accepted Beirut's unwillingness to make the border agreement, and other trading arrangements, formal.

On another thorny point, Lebanon

agreed to integrate the Israeli-sponsored forces of Maj. Saad Haddad into the Lebanese army. But the Lebanese continued to balk at Israeli demands that he be made commander of a southern brigade in the border area.

After three months of watching the withdrawal negotiations, President Reagan last week made explicit what had long been implied — that delivery to Israel of 75 American F-16 jets was being held up until Israeli forces stopped "occupying another country." Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said the President had made "a regrettable pronouncement" just as Israel and Lebanon were "close to agreement" on the withdrawal.

Washington, he added, knew Israel went into Lebanon not to "capture or occupy" territory but to "disperse and destroy" Palestinian attackers. With the withdrawal still hanging

fire, Arab leaders continued to tiptoe around Mr. Reagan's proposals on Palestinian autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza. In Damascus, Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian Liberation Organization leader, said "no to the

A Pause That Doesn't Refresh

While the opposition gloated last week, France's ruling Socialists were apprehensive that history might be catching up with them. The austerity measures introduced by President François Mitterrand's Socialist-Communist coalition to beat inflation and restore the shaky franc were what a conservative government might have decreed. It was a far cry from the emphasis on nationalization, longer vacations and big spending to beat unemployment — "the priority of priorities" when Mr. Mitterrand took over two years ago.

Although most of them dutifully lined up behind their leaders, the Socialists could not help recalling another time of ecstasy and agony — the Popular Front of the 1930's when Léon Blum, after a rush of reform,

was obliged by a deteriorating economy to declare a "pause." That pause was the beginning of the end for Blum and there is concern in Socialist ranks that the present one — even though it may be labeled rigor or realism — may not work much better in economic or electoral terms.

The next legislative elections are still three years off. But they already look like rough going because the signs of unrest are everywhere, most worrisomely among the voters that put the leftist majority into power. Having been accorded five weeks of vacation, the French were particularly unhappy with a measure that would limit their spending abroad to \$275, keeping them out of favored haunts in Spain, Italy and Yugoslavia. Thousands of furious travel agents who cater to this well-developed taste for foreign climes demonstrated down the Avenue de l'Opéra last week with signs that suggested the Government had violated a basic French right — the freedom to grumble abroad as at home. The domestic tourist industry saw an opportunity, but there were mournful predictions that beach space in France this summer would have to be rented by the hour.

The Greening of The Bundestag

Accompanied by bongo drums and a good-natured claque of pacifist, feminist and environmentalist supporters, the first Greens elected to West Germany's national legislature paraded to the Bundestag last week. The 27 members had little hope of parliamentary victories in the 498-seat house. But as they had already shown during the election campaign, there are other ways to make a point.

The Greens rejected their assigned far-left seats and threatened to remain standing until they were ushered to the center location they insisted on, between Chancellor Helmut Kohl's conservative Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats. The main parties made sure

the Greens would not get a turn at presiding by leaving them off the five-member panel that controls debate. They retaliated by walking out on Mr. Kohl's inauguration.

Right-wingers suggested expelling the Greens for threatening to spill any military secrets they learn in committees and for refusing to dress soberly. But Mr. Kohl spoke fondly of the younger generation and, borrowing a favorite Green leaf, stressed the importance of the environment. Pursuing the avuncular approach, Rainer Barzel, the Christian Democrat floor leader, welcomed a little "wit and good humor." He added, "To be serious does not mean to be stuffy."

Argentine Rulers Flouted Again

Argentina's largely discredited military regime has promised to yield power to civilians next year but by then it may have little power to yield. Last week, its authority was further sapped when hundreds of thousands of wage-earners paralyzed the country for a day despite a strike ban. The Interior Ministry had to acknowledge that 85 percent of employees heeded the call by the General Confederation of Labor to protest the economic situation and the Government's way of dealing with it.

The Government had sought to head off some of the discontent with a promise of a 12 percent wage increase. But with inflation running at 200 percent a year, this made as little impression as the ban. Labor Minister Héctor Villaverde indicated how toothless the regime had become by saying it had no intention of arresting union leaders or trying to enforce strike laws.

Rounding out an embarrassing week, yesterday was the first anniversary of Argentina's disastrous invasion of the Falkland Islands, an event that will be commemorated tomorrow to nobody's joy. The regime was also due to issue an accounting this week of how it stamped

out guerrilla movements in the 1970's. This was sure to revive the bitterness over what happened to thousands of people who disappeared.

Tax-Table Apartheid

In South Africa, where even taxes are separate and unequal, the Government has been talking for years about giving blacks the deductions enjoyed by white, Indian and mixed-race "colored" taxpayers. The change was originally due this year, but last week, complications led Finance Minister Owen Horwood to put it off until March 1984.

Blacks — 70 percent of the population — are taxed on lower incomes than the lighter-skinned minorities. There are other inconsistencies. The relatively small number of single black males who earn as much as whites pay at a lower rate, for example, but married blacks with children pay more because they don't get the same deductions for families as the rest. The new tax law would eliminate these inequities.

Government old-age pensions and disability benefits will remain disparate, however. Mr. Horwood announced increases giving white pensioners a maximum of \$138.70 per month, Indians and coloreds \$84.86 and blacks \$52.

Raising doubts about another move away from apartheid, Prime Minister P. W. Botha said last week he would let the country's 4.5 million whites pass judgment by referendum on his proposal to give Indians and coloreds limited powers at the national level in a three-chamber parliament. Blacks would still be excluded, but hard-line segregationists oppose the new constitution as a threat to white supremacy. Indians and coloreds who have criticized the proposals for not going far enough protested their exclusion from the referendum.

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Gidiger

Amid Growing Pressure for Negotiation, Nicaragua Accuses U.S. of Plotting Armed Intervention

Tracking Washington's Ends and Means in Central America



By ALAN RIDING

WHILE politicians and diplomats continued to argue the relative merits of electoral or negotiated solutions in Central America, the region last week took a new step toward wider warfare. The latest wave of anti-Sandinist attacks inside Nicaragua did not threaten the Government installed after the ouster of the Somoza regime in July 1979. But it suggested that just as in El Salvador, Nicaragua's troubles were moving toward prolonged military struggle rather than an early political solution.

The battle last week was waged largely in propaganda. Nicaragua took its case to the United Nations Security Council, accusing the United States and Honduras of helping to organize former National Guardsmen of the Somoza era into a terrorist army that in recent months had infiltrated 2,000 "counterrevolutionaries" into Nicaragua from camps in Honduras.

The size and membership of this cadre was impossible to confirm, but the anti-Sandinist Nicaraguan Democratic Force, a coalition that also includes businessmen and exiled Conservative Party leaders, grabbed headlines by claiming — falsely as it turned out — the capture of numerous small towns in Matagalpa Province.

The Reagan Administration, meanwhile, sought to portray the fighting as prompted by a population disenchanted with Sandinist "repression." But Washington's involvement with the "contras" is substantial. The New York Times reported. The support is said to involve intelligence, training, equipment and advice, according to Honduran and American official sources.

No matter how presented, increased political violence now seems likely in Nicaragua. The prospect has sent shudders through a region already polarized by civil war in El Salvador, a brutal, partially successful counterinsurgency campaign in Guatemala and mounting political tensions in Honduras. The Nicaraguan conflict prompted fresh calls for negotiations but it also reawakened fears in Central America that fighting could spread beyond national borders and that the United States might eventually feel the need to send in combat troops.

For the Reagan Administration, which until now has shaped its Central American policy around its faltering effort to defeat the Salvadoran left, a change of emphasis may also be taking place. Noting that Nicaragua, under both the Somozas and the Sandinists, was more influential in the region than El Salvador, some Central American observers believe Washington may have concluded that undermining the Sandinists is a precondition to prevailing in El Salvador.

In a sense, the idea is not new. The Administration has consistently argued that the source of El Salvador's troubles was to be found in Managua and Havana. Every setback in El Salvador has been quickly followed by new charges from Washington of Sandinist weapons shipments to the Salvadoran rebels, although American diplomats in the region say they have seen little recent evidence of large-scale Nicaraguan arms trafficking.

The Sandinists, however, could not be easily dislodged. They have lost much of their original popularity, but they have built up a powerful political and military apparatus. The exiled revolutionary hero, Edén Pastora Gómez, plans to enter the country to prepare his support-

ers for an eventual uprising. But he has yet to prove his claims of strong support inside the Sandinist army. The well-armed rightist forces led by former National Guard officers such as the Honduras-based Col. Enrique Bermúdez Varela are still widely hated. Nevertheless, so long as they obtain support from abroad, the "contras" can keep up their attacks.

Hopes for peace in El Salvador look no less bleak despite the recent decision to advance the date of general elections from March 1984 to next December. The country's interim President, Alvaro Magaña, noted recently that his main objective was to persuade leftist groups to present candidates at the polls. But the guerrilla coalition, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, has already discounted the idea of participating without prior negotiations.

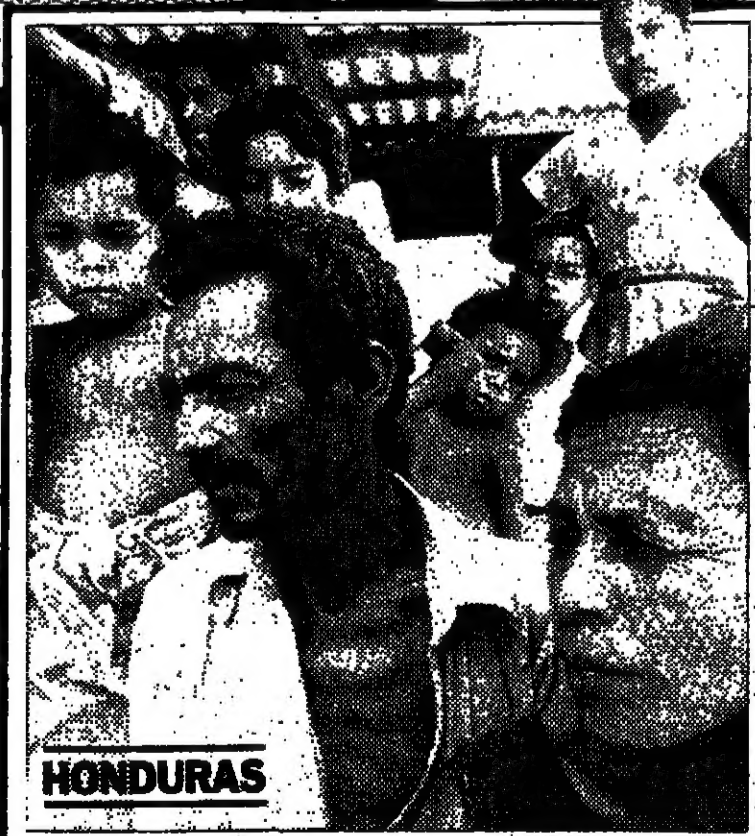
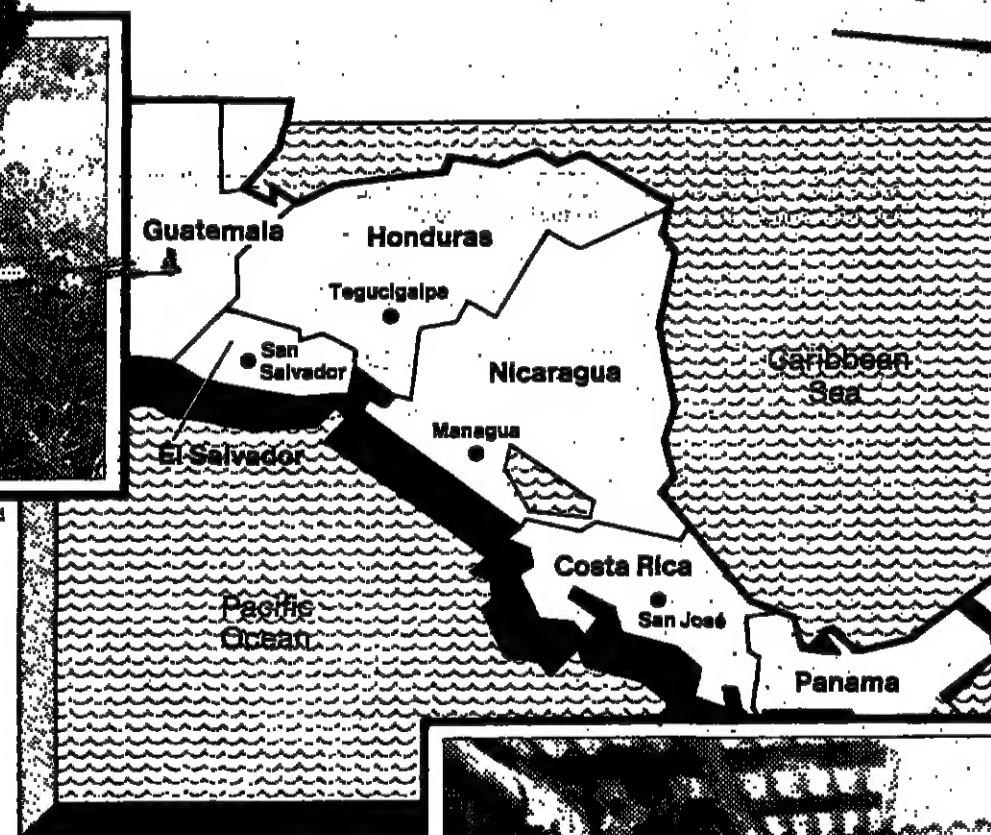
Guerrilla Confidence

The United States and its Salvadoran allies have rejected repeated rebel offers of "unconditional dialogue." And the Reagan Administration, although anxious to present the elections as a political solution, has asked Congress for an additional \$110 million in military aid to finance yet another Salvadoran counterinsurgency offensive. This time it is to be accompanied by civil action programs seemingly modeled after the "hearts and minds" campaigns in Vietnam.

But the guerrillas, having demonstrated an improved military capacity in recent months, are confident that increased United States assistance will not remedy the Salvadoran armed forces' evident deficiencies — poor officer leadership and demoralized troops. In recent interviews, guerrilla spokesmen have claimed that Salvadoran troops increasingly prefer to surrender rather than fight.

Yet despite the widespread belief among Salvadoran and Nicaraguan leftists that they cannot be defeated by their United States-backed foes, both groups have issued warnings that a frustrated Administration might intervene directly in the region. The leftists say they are particularly alarmed by President Reagan's repeated assertions that United States security is threatened by "Soviet expansionism" in Central America.

In Washington, however, the likelihood of direct



Refugees from Nicaragua at a camp in Jacaleapa, Honduras (above); Nicaraguan troops searching for terrorists along the border with Honduras (top left); Salvadoran troops in a U.S.-supplied helicopter flying over rebel-held territory in Morazan Province.



The Administration, since it took office in January 1981, has viewed Central America in the context of the broader East-West struggle and has been determined to make no concessions to the left. It has refused to allow Salvadoran rebels "to win at the negotiating table what they can't win on the battlefield" and as their battlefield success has grown, Secretary of State George F. Shultz has vowed that they will not be allowed to "shoot their way" into the Government.

At Mexico's urging, Washington and Managua briefly exchanged negotiating positions early last year, but the State Department has not responded to Nicaragua's last diplomatic note of August 1982.

Whatever its attitude toward substantive negotiations in the region, Washington is well aware that the very idea of negotiations plays a key role in the propaganda war. In response to calls for negotiations by Mexico and Venezuela and by the Socialist International, the United States last fall mobilized its Central American allies — El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica — to propose talks with Nicaragua under an agenda known to be unacceptable to the Sandinists.

Honduras Seems Vulnerable

More recently, Costa Rica promoted the idea of a so-called "five plus five" meeting — the five Central American countries plus Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama and the Dominican Republic — that would discuss the regional crisis without United States participation. But Washington's endorsement of the plan immediately raised suspicions that it was aimed at pressuring the Sandinists into concessions. Nicaragua has instead called for separate talks with Honduras and the United States to tackle the specific problem of the "contras."

Even in the heated debates over negotiations, the lines have been sharply drawn. The Sandinists favor negotiations between El Salvador's warring parties but refuse to contemplate direct talks with rightist rebels at home. Washington, meanwhile, dismisses proposals for talks in El Salvador but criticizes the Sandinists for rebuffing their opponents.

The standoff also threatens wider instability. Honduras appears most vulnerable since it is actively involved in the struggle of its neighbors, serving as a buffer against Salvadoran rebel movements in border areas and acting as willing host to Nicaraguan "contras." Even in Costa Rica, which has no army and is anxious to prevent anti-Sandinist forces from launching attacks from its territory, political opinion is being polarized by the regional crisis.

Only Guatemala seems immune to the convulsions of the region, perhaps because its own situation has been so bad for so long. Over the past year, the country's latest military regime has battered its latest guerrilla movement, but few Guatemalans are optimistic that permanent stability will be the result. Guatemala has known political violence almost continuously since a leftist regime was overthrown by United States-backed rebels in 1954. Its "30 Years War" is already 29 years old.



Members of the Confédération Générale du Travail protesting the dismissal of several workers outside a Citroën factory near Paris in February.

France's major unions

The General Confederation of Labor (Confédération Générale du Travail)

Membership (1981) 1,900,000
Political orientation: Close to the Communist Party.
Important sectors: Steel, the public sector (telephones, telegraph, banks, hospitals).
Secretary General: Henri Krasucki.
Comments: France's largest union; largely Communist-led.

The French Democratic Confederation of Labor (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail)

Membership (1981) 949,350
Political orientation: Traditionally close to the Socialists, with a lingering New Left and Christian left influence.
Important sectors: Steel, chemicals, textiles, professions, public sector (telephones and insurance).
Secretary General: Edmond Maire.
Comments: Union closest to Mitterrand Government.

Worker's Force (Force Ouvrière)

Membership (1981) 1,100,000
Political orientation: Center-right.
Important sectors: Civil servants.
Secretary General: André Bergeron.
Comments: No ties to the Government.

General Confederation of Managers (Confédération Générale des Cadres)

Membership (1982) 320,000
Political orientation: Anti-government, center-right.
Important sectors: Executives, middle managers and white collar workers.
President: Jean Menu.
Comments: Generally opposed to the Government.

French Labor Takes Wary View of Plans For Austerity

By E. J. DIONNE Jr.

PARIS — The economic austerity the French Socialists have put into effect is not the sort of program to bring trade unionists to their feet for a joyous rendition of the "Internationale." In fact, the unions have responded harshly to a plan to cut consumption by way of reducing inflation and the country's balance of trade deficit.

Edmond Maire, the leader of the generally pro-Socialist French Democratic Confederation of Labor, complained of the way the Government went about producing the package without consulting the unions. Henry Krasucki, the secretary-general of the Communist-led General Confederation of Labor, said that adjustments in the package were "indispensable." The General Confederation of Cadres, the nation's middle-managers' union, was so certain its members would be hurt most that it threatened strike action "of a national dimension."

A mobilization of union forces might wreck the plan. That is why Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy spent so much of his time last week trying to comfort labor. As an old-fashioned Socialist who acknowledges he does not much like austerity plans, Mr. Mauroy found himself in the difficult position of hearing arguments from union leaders he might easily have made himself under other circumstances. The discussions and what follows from them could be crucial to determining the success of the badly baited

tered leftist Government. Until now, the trade unions have found it easy to accept what the Government had to give. In the first year of Socialism, it launched a reflationary program to increase employment, cut the work week, extend paid vacation time, raise the minimum wage — the sort of things unions like and employers deplore.

The Socialists insist that all this was not in vain. They argue that they were simply keeping their campaign promises to help the less well-off. And France's economy did grow faster than that of its rivals. Mr. Mauroy said in an interview with the weekly L'Express that the French program might have worked if other Western countries had refrained at the same time. But conservative regimes elsewhere "took all the risks on unemployment and no risks on inflation," he complained.

There was higher inflation in France and a growing trade deficit. So last year came the first round of what the Socialists call "rigor" and most others call "austerity." This included wage-price guidelines and an end to formal indexation of salaries, which had kept them in line with inflation. The unions grumbled — and the guidelines were sometimes broken — but there was no great labor unrest.

An Unpopular Program

But the latest program is tougher and will thus be tougher to sell. Largely the creation of Jacques Delors, the conservative Socialist who has been made a "super-minister" for economics, budget and finance, the plan is full of measures that will infuriate the average worker: direct tax increases, forced "loans" to the Government and higher charges for such things as electricity, heating, telephones, train fares and tolls — plus exceedingly unpopular spending restrictions on vacations abroad. What worries the unions most is that the plan is deflationary and will almost certainly increase unemployment.

The business community at first welcomed the Government's decision to attack inflation as well as what it saw as a move away from Socialist "excesses." But many businessmen share the apprehension of union leaders that not only does the plan offer little to promote growth but it might actually aggravate the recession.

Dealings with unions are complicated here because the labor movement is organized less by craft and trade than by politics. Workers in the same shop doing the same job can belong to any of the labor federations. The divi-

sions by politics have weakened the union movement. Only about 23 percent of the French work force is unionized, compared with 43 percent in the Common Market as a whole. Still, the unions are strong enough to be a threat.

The key decisions are likely to be made by the larger, traditionally leftist unions. The General Confederation of Labor has always been one of the Communist Party's trump cards in its dealings with the Socialists. The Socialists don't need Communist votes in Parliament, but admitting them into the Government has been a way to buy peace with the Confederation.

Of late, both the union and the Communists have been speaking very carefully, saying they support the Government's general objectives but adding that they favor "corrections" or "additions" to the new plan to make it fairer to workers and a greater incentive to investment to stave off further unemployment. Neither the party nor the union seems ready to break with the Government, but both seem fearful of a backlash against the plan among the rank and file.

Over the short run, an accord seems likely, but the union and the Communists have prepared the groundwork for what might be a two-pronged strategy: continued Communist participation in the Government and stepped-up labor agitation in support of the increasingly isolated leftist voices within the coalition.

For all their tough words, the unions — and particularly Mr. Maire — seem to share at least some of the Government's worries about inflation and the trade deficit. They have not rejected the Government's proposals out of hand. The big question is whether the Government can afford to deliver changes the union leaders say they need to make the program palatable to their followers. Mr. Mauroy, normally an upbeat man, seems to understand the problem clearly enough. "The most difficult thing for the left," he said, "was to accept, in a time of crisis, the economic law of rigor."

Zimbabwe's Civil Strife

Does Mugabe Trail or Lead Hard-Liners?

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

HARARE, ZIMBABWE — This country is only three years into its independence and its rules of political discourse are still being written. One rule seems to hold that political leaders in power, especially Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, should not be taken literally when they threaten their enemies from a public platform.

The other day Mr. Mugabe told a mass rally of his supporters that his longtime ally and long-time rival, Joshua Nkomo, was responsible for the conflict in rural Matabeleland between Government troops and armed deserters from the national army who are all presumed to be alumni of Mr. Nkomo's pre-independence guerrilla force. Those who backed the deserters, he promised, would be "crushed and crushed fully." The public Robert Mugabe sounded uncompromising and resolute of charges that his forces had far outdone the deserters — who have their own ghastly record of kidnappings and murders — in brutality.

A few days after the rally, the Prime Minister met a delegation from the Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace, which had played a key role during the guerrilla conflict before independence by exposing atrocities committed by the army in its fight to sustain the old white regime. Once again, the commission had come to talk about atrocities and the need to protect innocent civilians. The private Robert Mugabe seemed open to criticism and humanely concerned, committed to restoring discipline in the army by punishing wrongdoers.

But when the Roman Catholic bishops last week published their criticisms in an Easter pastoral statement that condemned "wanton brutality and atrocities," the



Katherine Young/Polystyle
Prime Minister Robert Mugabe

Government assailed the statement as "utterly one-sided" and "propagandistic." The private Robert Mugabe, it seemed, could not accept public castigation. Onlookers attempting to reconcile their sense of the private man with their sense of the public figure are prone these days to admit that they see a blur and to fall back on verbal shrugs like "enigmatic."

Once there was an assumption that the Robert Mugabe who achieved instant international stature at the time of independence by preaching a theme of national reconciliation was under pressure from a hard-line faction in his strangely inchoate, nominally socialist political party, the Zimbabwe African National Union. Now there is sometimes a suspicion that Mr. Mugabe's public prickliness may be more revealing than his private mien of intellectual calm — that he may, in fact, be the chief of the hard-liners.

Visions of Treachery

No one puts the entire blame on him for the crisis in Matabeleland, which has arisen, seemingly inexorably, from the same deep reservoir of political and ethnic mistrust that was responsible for Zimbabwe's attaining independence with two liberation movements and two guerrilla armies. Fear was probably the dominant emotion that caused 3,700 of the erstwhile Nkomo fighters to desert from the national army last year, just as it sent Mr. Nkomo himself fleeing across the Botswana border into exile last month. But Mr. Mugabe has consistently found it easy to believe in the treachery of others, which is part of the reason why the three figures from the Nkomo faction who might conceivably be of some use in easing the fears and alienation that are now rampant in Matabeleland are all inaccessible. The proud and difficult Mr. Nkomo is sulking in London; his two most influential lieutenants as far as the former guerrillas are concerned, Dumiso Dabengwa and Lookoot Masuku, are on trial in Harare. Both originally faced treason charges (now only Mr. Dabengwa does) and Mr. Mugabe talks of a "war" that can only be won with military force.

The Prime Minister never denies that he is attempting to build a one-party state but points out, quite accurately, that Mr. Nkomo also supports that aim. The issue has been the distribution of power inside that single party. It would be an issue even without the Nkomo faction. Power under Mr. Mugabe has tended to be concentrated in the hands of his own ethnic clan, the Zezuru, who are possibly the most urbanized, but not the most numerous, subgroup within the broad Shona-speaking majority.

The brittleness of internal politics in Mr. Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union is suggested by the fact that it has not been able to hold a party congress since independence. Its 32-member central committee was elected six years ago in exile in Mozambique. The party's first and last congress was in 1984; the next one will be next year at the earliest and may again be postponed.

The party's public stance is socialist and egalitarian, but its preoccupation seems to be with preserving its ascendancy. A recently published labor relations bill, for instance, seems illiberal even by comparison with its counterpart in white-ruled South Africa. Not only could it make strikes virtually illegal, it gives a Cabinet minister arbitrary power to control the movement of workers in a manner that suggests the South African system of "influx control." The minister also has arbitrary power to set aside the results of a union election if he deems that the voters did not get what he thinks they wanted — a union with Mugabe-party ties, for instance.

The labor relations bill has nothing very obvious to do with the "socialist transformation" the party promises; neither, of course, does the show of force in Matabeleland. But both the bill and the military operation are attempts to exert authority from the top down, which seems to be the main political impulse in Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe.

Change of Regimes Has Made Life Little Better for Rural Cambodians

Vietnamese Deposed Pol Pot but Not Poverty

By COLIN CAMPBELL

BANGKOK — Rural life in Cambodia, as seen in a visit to rice-growing Takeo Province south of Phnom Penh, seems better than at any time since 1975, when the Communist regime of Pol Pot came to power.

Yet the province is a sad one. Despite increased rice production there and nationwide, Takeo is still struggling to feed itself and still bewildered by its new masters, the Vietnamese troops that invaded the country in late 1978 and deposed Pol Pot. The soldiers have provided a fair measure of security for most of Cambodia's seven million people, but there is little evidence that their presence and the Heng Samrin Government they back have done much for the rural population.

The paved roads of Takeo are still combat-era backbreakers. The province's villages, which have suffered more than average from local flooding and drought, range from poor to dirt-poor. The wet season harvest of December and January has filled small granaries to overflowing, but now, with the dry season, most fields are parched and a dusty lassitude hangs over the land.

There is one Cambodian doctor in the whole of Takeo but the province is lucky in having half a dozen doctors from Czechoslovakia, one of the Soviet-bloc countries that recognize the Government. But the provincial hospital does not inspire confidence.

Thousands of Vietnamese soldiers and Cambodian militiamen stroll the highways and guard their culverts even though there seems little threat of attack — the province adjoins Vietnam and is far from the western strongholds of Pol Pot's guerrillas. The soldiers, when they are not filling the restaurants, suck to their pillboxes rather than working to repair shattered roads, towns and canals.

The Villagers Complain

Between Phnom Penh and the town of Takeo, the capital of the province, the talk in the villages is of too little food and no clean water, medicine, or irrigation pumps. This seems the case across wide stretches of Cambodia. Kitchen gardens have expanded and the Government has allowed the country's private plots of rice-land to grow larger and more productive. But, as in Vietnam, the Government has placed its long-term faith in "solidarity groups" of a dozen families each, and on directed labor in an eventually collectivized society.

In Dam Nak Pongro, a village that straddles Takeo and Kompong Speu provinces, 35 families — three solidarity groups — farm less than 50 acres of land. Their tiny houses are built of bamboo and straw. Even now, just three months after the harvest, they do not eat well. The villagers appear better off, however, than when they were scattered during the Pol Pot era. Ong Soem, 53 years old, who lost 10 relatives during that period, said his family of eight consumes 4½ pounds of rice per day. That means 16½ pounds of rice per person per month, or 10 pounds less than the United Nations Food and Agriculture

Organization calls essential. Some of the village's children looked healthy because the Government has provided emergency rations. Others had the reddish-brown hair, fat bellies and faraway gaze of malnutrition. The village raises a few pigs, chickens and ducks, but water for vegetables is unavailable.

Top Chorn, the village headman, who always carries an American AR-15 rifle strapped over his shoulder for "security," said he hoped to extend the village's area of cultivation by 25 acres. This would mean clearing trees and digging impoundments for water, and the headman spoke enthusiastically of the plan. Ong Soem and his family looked mystified by this talk. Later they asked a visitor for aspirin and antibiotics.

In the provincial capital, the president of Takeo's revolutionary committee, Kong Lanh, briefly described a scheme, launched in February, that would move 17,000 poor families into unfarmed lowlands along Takeo's border with Vietnam.

Houses have yet to be built there. The land is sometimes flooded and there are problems with rats and insects. Dikes still need to be raised against the Bassac River and its old canal. Yet more than 5,000 families are said to have moved to the area already. One of the reasons, explained a farmer who planned to move, is that the new land has been advertised as yielding a rich 2½ tons of rice per acre.

"It's a fact," Kong Lanh's chief of staff insisted. But officials of the Agriculture Ministry in Phnom Penh said that the land in question was much less productive, and that the central Government might have to step forward with aid if the project fared as badly as some of Vietnam's "new economic zones."

Like the rest of the country, Takeo Province is a victim of history. In 1970, soldiers of the Lon Nol regime massacred a crowd of ethnic Vietnamese in the provincial capital. Outside town, the 30-foot craters of American bombs still scar the fields. Unknown thousands died and many others were dispossessed. When Pol Pot arrived, the killing continued. At Kokoh monastery, a pile of skulls and the pits of graves bear witness to the butchery of several thousand civilians.

Conditions have improved since the Pol Pot years and the famine that followed Vietnam's invasion. Takeo's secondary school students seem positively cheerful and, according to the provincial director of education, more than 175,000 of Takeo's youngsters are now attending school.

They get an education highly oriented by the occupying force. A provincial student, like his counterpart in Phnom Penh, learns to read, write and understand history through simple texts, printed in Vietnam, that drive home the horrors of the Pol Pot regime, extoll the Vietnamese, and recite the doctrines of the faction of Cambodia's Communist Party that now rules in Phnom Penh.



Travelers heading north from Takeo to Phnom Penh

BROADWAY 80

Please place in litter-basket when you finish. Keep Israel tidy.

I'm glad I changed.

The Nation

Reagan Punches Between Rounds Of Budget Fight

"I want to get out there and tell my side of the story," President Reagan is said to have said to aides over Christmas. Last week, during Congress's Easter break, out there is exactly where he was, barraging the homefolks through national television and casual chats with reporters just as most senators and representatives were taking soundings among their constituents.

The timing, the Administration acknowledges, was deliberate. The legislators return to Washington Wednesday, and on the top of their agenda is a matter that matters much to the White House: the Federal budget for the 1984 fiscal year and the Reagan commitment to rearming America by spending 10 percent more on the military, after inflation, this year than last. Last week the President gave little sign of the possibilities of "accommodation" he expressed two weeks ago. The hint was loud enough to convince the Senate Budget Committee to hold off voting 6 percent or 7 percent for defense. "We could not go back down to those figures without reducing our readiness," he declared Tuesday.

House Democrats don't agree. They have a budget resolution in place that calls for a 4 percent hike for the Pentagon, and \$17 billion for civilian job-creation — any amount for which the White House maintains is unnecessary because recovery from the recession will take care of it. The week's economic reports didn't lend definitive weight to either side of the argument: Some Republicans cheered the numbers as evidence Reaganomics is working, while Democrats called the improvement too modest.

Unemployment in March stayed virtually unchanged at 10.1 percent of the labor force (10.3 percent if the members of the armed forces are not counted too), while total employment rose 40,000, to 1.78 million. In the manufacturing sector, however, there were moderate job gains, a report supported by the index of leading indicators for February. While up only 1.4 percent, as compared with January's tremendous 3.5 percent jump, February's gain is still the sixth in a row.

Whose Obligation Is Health Care?

A Presidential commission on medical ethics last week stopped short of declaring health care a citizen's constitutional right, but not by much. "Equitable access," the panel said, is the "ethical obligation" and "ultimate responsibility" of the Federal Government, even in austere times. As for austerity, the commission — eight members of which were appointed by President Reagan and three, including the chairman, by President Carter — called health care cost control measures unacceptable if they widen the gap between those who get adequate care and those who don't, or get none at all.

That, however, was as close as the President's Commission for the Study of Ethical Problems in Medicine and Biochemical and Behavioral Research came to explicit criticism of the Reagan Administration's health care policies. "The cost of achieving equitable access ought to be shared fairly," the commission said. "But equity does not require equal access." On specific programs, the panel's 223-page report noted that Medicaid cutbacks have reduced many poor people's access and that "the process of 'weeding out' ineligible enrollees (in the Social Security disability program) appears to have become one of terminating a substantial number of beneficiaries for the purpose of budgetary savings." But it concurred with the Administration that current tax breaks for health insurance could be cut without violating ethical standards.

The Administration, meanwhile, came forward with another interpretation of a different responsibility, that of a person whose parents are in nursing homes. Under the Medicaid law, officials of the Department of Health and Human Services said, states may require people to help pay for their parents' nursing home care, though they acknowledged legal and practical problems in enforcement of such a "family responsibility." In the past, Washington has told states that wanted to impose familial contributions as supplements to their assistance to indigents that they would lose Federal Medicaid money.

So It Goes In Chicago

"Unless something changes soon," the Chicago Tribune lamented editorially last week, "Chicago's mayoral election will be one decided on the issue of race." Things changed a little, but there was still nothing at all high-minded about the contest be-



Demonstrators jeering Harold Washington in Chicago last week.

tween Representative Harold Washington, the black Democratic candidate, and Bernard E. Epton, the white Republican nominee.

Mr. Washington attempted to counter questions about his "integrity" by suggesting to audiences that Mr. Epton had been hospitalized twice for psychiatric testing. Mr. Epton continued to make the most of Mr. Washington's documented legal transgressions and near-misses. Republicans passed around records alleging that Mr. Washington had twice had his wages garnished while he was serving in the state legislature.

Though many local Democrats, including Mayor Jayne M. Byrne, who decided late last month that she wouldn't mount a write-in re-election campaign after all, continued sitting on their hands, Mr. Washington was endorsed by a road company of Democrats — including two Presidential prospects, former Vice President Walter F. Mondale and Ohio Senator John Glenn. Some of the visiting luminaries seemed as much motivated by the limelight, and by the embarrassment to the party if it loses control of City Hall in the nation's second largest city, as by regard for the Democratic nominee. At midweek, Mr. Washington headed east for fund-raisers; he collected \$83,000 at two fund-raising luncheons in New York City.

With another full week of campaigning to go before the April 12 election, Mr. Epton, who is a lawyer and a businessman, was still trailing in the polls but had apparently made sharp gains, especially in conservative white neighborhoods.

Indians Lose Out On Water Rights

All over the Southwest, water rights are as bitterly contested today as they were a hundred years ago, though usually less violently. Last week came the latest chapter in the protracted legal fight over access to the Colorado River. Although a special master had concluded that five Indian tribes had through bureaucratic oversight been denied a fair share of water almost two decades ago, the Supreme Court ruled 5 to 3 that the allotments needn't be increased.

The master, senior United States Court of Appeals Judge Elbert Parr Tuttle, was appointed by the Court after the five tribes sought to have the allotment increased four years ago. Judge Tuttle reported last year that the Fort Mojave, Chemehuevi, Cocopah, Fort Yuma and Colorado River tribes of California, Arizona and Nevada were indeed entitled to a third more water. The present allotment, he said (and the Government admitted), was based on incomplete estimates prepared in 1964 by the Federal Government, which represented the tribes in earlier stages of the litigation, of the irrigable acreage on the five reservations.

Judge Tuttle's findings were subsequently challenged by the states of California, Arizona and Nevada. The case was the oldest active case on the Court's docket; Justice Thurgood Marshall had to disqualify himself because he had worked on the litigation in the mid-1960's when he was Solicitor General.

Writing for the majority, Associate Justice Byron R. White acknowledged that the Government had erred. But he said: "We believe the issue of practically irrigable acreage was fully and fairly litigated" before the 1964 allotments. Reopening the case, he said, "runs directly counter to the strong interest in finality in this case." In a dissent, Associate Justice William J. Brennan Jr. said the tribes would "suffer a manifest injustice if we fail to consider the omitted lands claims."

Caroline Rand Herron and Michael Wright

Glenn's Image Meets Mondale's Politics This Week

Democrats Begin Testing Their Strategies for 1984

By HOWELL RAINES

WASHINGTON — As the Democratic Presidential candidates prepare for the straw vote at the Massachusetts Democratic convention in Springfield on Saturday, the broad strategic tracks of their campaigns are becoming increasingly clear.

In the argot of political analysts, former Vice President Walter F. Mondale is running a "politics campaign" and Senator John H. Glenn Jr. of Ohio an "image campaign." California's Senator Alan Cranston is running as a substitute Kennedy and Senator Gary Hart of Colorado as the "new generation" candidate. Next come several Southerners whose best hope — barring a Jimmy Carter-like leap to prominence — may lie in selling themselves as ticket-balancers who can challenge President Reagan in the Sun Belt.

For now, the outcome of the Presidential nomination fight appears likely to depend on how the main candidates deal with the problems inherent in their chosen strategies. The Chicago mayoral race, for example, showed the difficulty that Mr. Mondale, as the "politics candidate," faces in welding together conflicting Democratic blocs. In the primary, he angered blacks by endorsing Richard M. Daley, a candidate with a following in the white wards. When Mr. Daley lost, Mr. Mondale switched to Representative Harold Washington, a black. But that move proved so unpopular with conservative whites that Mr. Mondale was booed last weekend when he campaigned with Mr. Washington. Racism aside, there was a message in the boos about a Mondale strategy based on deals and endorsements. It could cast the former Vice President as an old-politics opportunist at a time when "new ideas" are a hot commodity among the Democrats.

Senator Glenn's candidacy poses this question: Are Democrats ready for a Reagan-style image campaign? To call Mr. Glenn an "image" candidate really understates what he is about. His, like Mr. Reagan's, is actually an icon candidacy. Iconographic politics requires a candidate whose public personality conforms to the outlines of a strong, deeply imbedded positive image in the national consciousness.

Three decades ago, with President Eisenhower, it was the soldier icon. In 1980, with Mr. Reagan, it was the cowboy icon. Senator Glenn, who once orbited the earth in a space capsule, will try to draw on the astronaut icon. Other Democrats recognize the potential of such a campaign. So they are attacking Mr. Glenn in the way that Mr. Reagan's Republican rivals went after Mr. Reagan in 1980, arguing that the "image candidate" is an intellectual lightweight.

If Senator Edward M. Kennedy's withdrawal advanced some candidacies, it created Senator Cranston's by opening a void on the Democratic left. Mr. Cranston, who calls himself "the most energetic candidate," has sometimes looked merely frantic in chasing the Kennedy constituencies. However, Mr. Cranston insists that his exertions have carried him over the first hurdle. "When I started out as a candidate," he said, "I was greeted with great and resounding skepticism from many quarters. I think that skepticism has diminished."

A 'New Age' Candidate

Senator Hart has distanced himself from the conventional liberalism embraced by Mr. Cranston. The theory of Mr. Hart, at 45 the youngest of the candidates, is that chronology is now more important than ideology in his party. "There is going to be a major generational change in the Democratic Party, whether it occurs in 1984 or 1988," he says. Indeed, many political professionals believe Mr. Hart is running to run again in 1988 as the champion of a generation of Americans who, like him, have erratic marital histories, hybrid political philosophies and a broad dissatisfaction with Government. But for 1984, it remains an open question whether these "New Age" Americans, who were shaped by the disorienting events of the 60's and 70's, think one of their own ought to be President of the United States.

Of these four candidates, only Mr. Glenn looks like an automatic strong runner in the Sun Belt. That is where the second-tier candidates emerge, as practitioners of Vice Presidential strategies that none of them will admit to devising. A ticket including former Florida Governor Reubin Askew would almost certainly carry the seventh largest



Nicholas Anich

state for the Democrats. South Carolina Senator Ernest F. Hollings, who plans to announce that he is a Presidential candidate on April 18, could argue that he would bring ideological and geographic balance to a Mondale ticket. Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas is enjoying a boom as an attractive ticket balancer and also as a Presidential candidate who could bolt to the front and disrupt all the conventional strategies if Democratic voters get into a "none-of-the-above" mood.

In any event, the subject of ticket balance is getting a lot of attention because many Democrats believe that the Democrats cannot win unless their ticket has appeal in both the Sun Belt and the old Democratic strongholds of the Northeast.

But that relates to general election strategy. For the moment, this is a family fight among the Democrats. It will be a test of their basic strategies and, more important, of their abilities to find that extra element that lies beyond good strategy. Winning campaigns need a galvanizing idea, a driving theme. So far that is the missing element for all these candidates. "I think there's a large vacuum there," observed Patrick Caddell, a pollster in both the McGovern and Carter campaigns. "People make a mistake if they overjudge the importance of organization to past winners. McGovern in '72, Carter in '76, Reagan in '80 — they won because they had a message that people responded to."

As diverse as their strategies are, all the Democrats together have so far devised only one substitute for such a message — that none of them is Ronald Reagan. By this time next year, they will need something stronger.

Dallas Verdict Last Week Underlined Charges of Widespread Abuse

New Questions Arise on Policing Police



United Press International

Relatives at a memorial service for Neville Johnson Jr., a black youth whose shooting by a Miami police officer touched off two days of rioting in December; Stephen Farrar (left) and Dale Bonura, two of three officers convicted last week of beating a black man during interrogation in New Orleans (inset).

By JUDITH MILLER

ATLANTA — A Federal jury in Dallas last week convicted three of seven New Orleans policemen charged with violating the civil rights of blacks who claimed they had been brutally interrogated during a hunt for a white officer's killer.

In Montgomery, Ala., the Federal Bureau of Investigation acknowledged that it was probing charges by members of a black family who swore that Montgomery policemen had beaten and abused them after the wounding of a white policeman.

Federal agents in Memphis continued their inquiry into the police shooting of seven black religious cultists who had held hostage and then killed a white officer before the house was stormed by his fellows.

Reminders of the question posed by the United States Commission on Civil Rights 18 months ago abound: Who is guarding the guardians?

Although all three episodes of alleged excessive police force and harassment against minorities took place in the South, the problem is not regional.

Wallace Warfield, associate director of field coordination for the Justice Department's Community Relations Service, said that both the incidence of police brutality and the reporting of such episodes were increasing throughout the country, with minorities most frequently the victims.

"No community is immune," said Mr. Warfield. According to the service, citizens' complaints of excessive violence rose 18.4 percent in the last fiscal year, from 141 in 1981 to 167 in 1982. In 1980, the agency collected 148 such complaints; in 1979, the year data collection began, 153 incidents were reported.

John V. Wilson, assistant director of public affairs for the Department of Justice, said that his agency receives 10,000 to 12,000 complaints about alleged violations of civil rights a year.

His figures do not show any trend, he said, but

the department does not separate out complaints of police violence.

In the 1981 fiscal year, the F.B.I. investigated about 3,400 of the 10,327 complaints it received — about one-third. Of these, 98 persons were charged with civil rights violations, 80 of whom were law enforcement officers. "About two-thirds of our cases involve complaints against police," Mr. Wilson said. "Our prosecutions have about a 50 percent success rate."

Successful prosecutions can spell financial disaster for local governments that are sued for civil damages. Mr. Warfield said his agency, with 63 field workers, has recently been inundated with requests for assistance from local governments, seeking municipal liability training and protection. Several police departments have re-examined and altered their firearms policies. More restrictive rules about the use of deadly force have been adopted by departments in Seattle, Wash., Portland, Ore., and Ogden, Utah, according to Mr. Warfield.

Voluntary Mediation

The Community Relations Service has also voluntarily mediated several disputes between police departments and minorities that had been a source of tension.

In Oakland, Calif., the agency is negotiating a package of proposals involving affirmative action and proper use of force that is intended to help the city comply with a court-sanctioned consent decree signed in September 1981.

"We need a few more examples of successful mediation before we call this a trend," Mr. Warfield said. "But it's a very healthy signpost."

Spokesmen for the International Association of Chiefs of Police, in Gaithersburg, Md., said that police departments across the nation were taking steps to tighten police discipline. Robert Angrist, director of communications, said that his group had recently recommended that police departments adopt a standard permitting the use of deadly force only when an officer has reason to

fear for his or another's life and safety and only in cases consistent with laws in his jurisdiction.

Several experts on the police said that many departments still offered overly vague prescriptions about the use of deadly force, such as the right to fire at a suspected fleeing felon. This standard sometimes led to abuses, they argued, especially in cases where policemen were pursuing those who were believed to have hurt a fellow police officer.

Stephen Mandra, executive director of the National Association of State Directors of Law Enforcement Training, said that every state except Hawaii has established boards to set standards and training requirements for police.

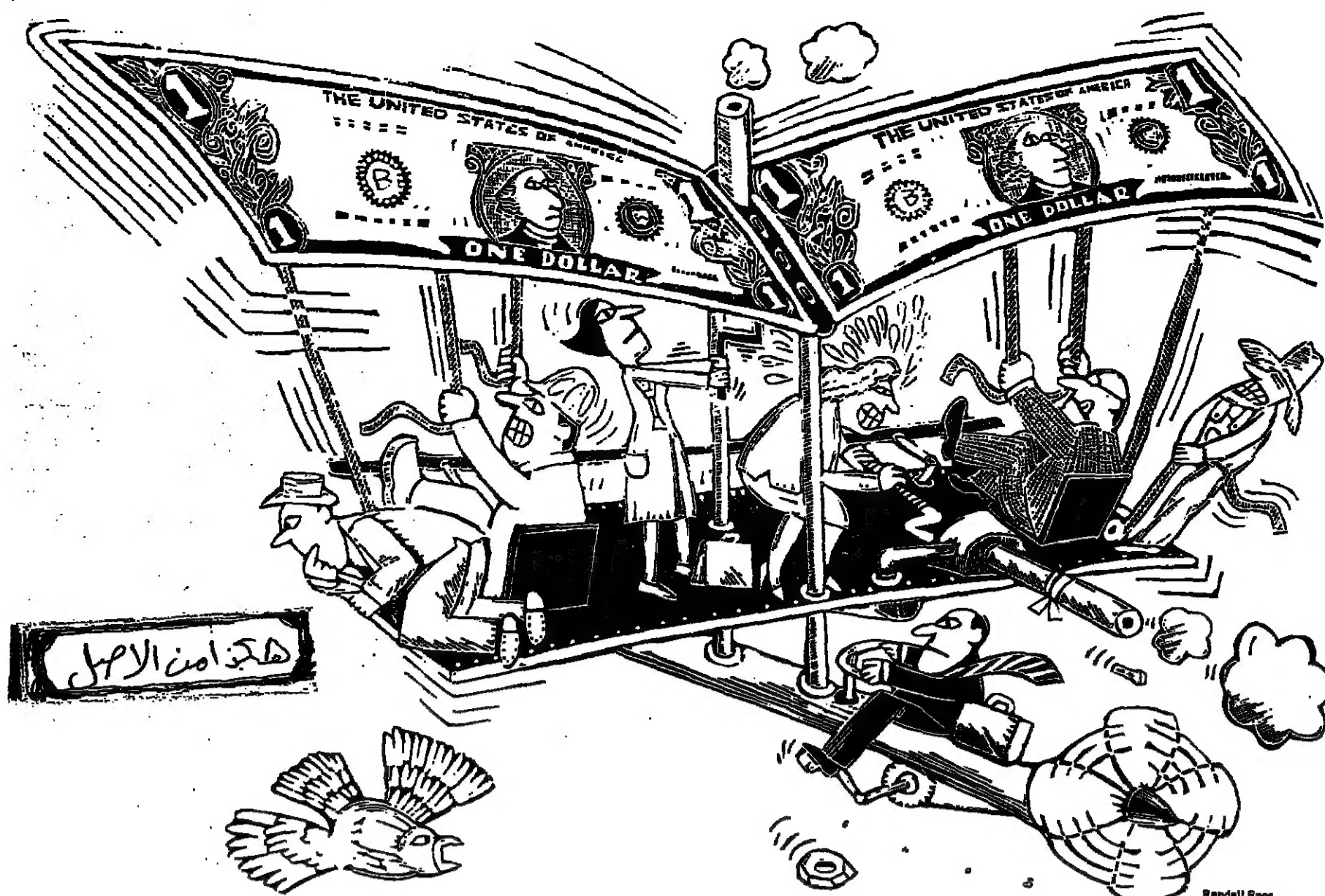
Several states, he added, are experimenting with new screening techniques in recruiting police officers.

Vermont, for example, uses a psychological test to attempt to identify applicants who may be prone to violence. Mr. Mandra bemoaned the loss of police training and research funds awarded by the now defunct Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The F.B.I. and other Federal agencies offer police training, but more should be done, he said.

Earl T. Shinhoster, southern regional director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that his organization favors the creation of state civilian review boards to receive and investigate complaints about police brutality.

In Tennessee, he added, police lobbying groups were actively opposing this. "You can't expect the police to police themselves," Mr. Shinhoster said. "Stability results only when people have confidence that their complaints will be taken seriously," he argued. "Civilian boards would do this."

"The alternative to such measures is not pleasant," he went on. "Police violence and minority violence go hand in hand. Miami gets the headlines, but the potential for a racial explosion triggered by police violence exists in many communities."



The Recovery: How Far Will It Fly?

Higher interest rates could put the economy back in the doldrums, despite a good first quarter.

By H. ERICH HEINEMANN

JUST about everybody — in Washington as much as on Wall Street — agrees that the economy is off the ground after a severe recession. The preliminary "flash" estimate by the Commerce Department indicates that the gross national product rose at an annual rate of about 4 percent in the first quarter — superb by standards of past economic recoveries, but still the best performance in two years.

The crowds of Easter shoppers in the stores last week suggest that people are going back to work and are loosening up their purses. The consensus among forecasters is that the quarterly growth rate in the economy will accelerate to 5 percent or better by the end of the year.

However, there is plenty to worry about. The fear — which is understandable in light of the spurning performance of the United States economy for the past four years — is that interest rates may surge long before the recovery has a chance to gain momentum. This could easily choke off the boomlet in housing, and knock the automobile market back to the depressed levels registered last spring.

Whether the business expansion will be sustainable beyond the next few quarters has become an important topic of debate among forecasters. Most analysts are on the side of continued growth, but recent increases in interest rates have raised new concerns.

In each of the last four years, the economy has shown brief periods of strength, only to fall back once again into stagnation. From July 1980 through March 1981, for instance, total output rose at a rate of about 4.5 percent. But rising interest rates stopped that recovery in its tracks.

Alan Murray, a veteran forecaster at Citibank, noted the other day that new orders for durable goods and retail trade figures were lower in February than in January, and that industrial production had shown a "tepid" gain in February of only three-tenths of 1 percent.

Sales of domestically produced automobiles, meanwhile, have slipped below 6 million units at an annual rate, despite widespread promotion of subsidized fi-

nancing on new cars. By traditional Detroit standards of 10 million to 12 million cars a year, this is hardly a boom.

Even more worrisome for some economists are signs that factory output may have flattened out. According to Townsend-Greenspan & Company, a leading economic consulting firm, preliminary indications suggest there may have been a small drop in industrial production in March.

Even so, both Citibank and Townsend-Greenspan expect continued growth. And Lacy H. Hunt, chief economist of Carroll, McEntee & McGinley, a Government bond firm, is still more optimistic. He believes a "broad-based recovery" is under way, and that G.N.P. in the second quarter will rise at an 8 percent annual rate. Housing, business capital spending, consumer outlays, agriculture and foreign trade, Mr. Hunt said, would all contribute to this result.

Sustained expansion in the United States economy would be welcome news all over the world, but especially among third-world countries, which have been struggling to increase export earnings to service their international debts. Janos Fekete, first deputy president of the National Bank of Hungary, expressed a common view on a visit here last week. "Everybody is praying for it," he said.

According to A. Gilbert Heebner, executive vice president and chief economist of the Philadelphia National Bank, "The conditions for expansion are in place." But he cautioned that there were "serious problems" that he said would have to be "carefully managed, or there is real risk that this year's recovery will be short-lived."

In the view of many analysts, there are three major obstacles to sustained business growth in 1983 and 1984 — the management of monetary policy, the budget deficit and the weakness of international trade. Each of the three present difficulties to be avoided.

Monetary Policy. The Federal Reserve's decision last summer to ease its policy and start pouring new reserves into the banking system is widely credited with

reducing interest rates. This was the principal factor that kicked the economy into gear in the first quarter.

However, in the last three months, despite Federal Reserve efforts to hold interest rates down, credit costs have started to inch up again. This has occurred in the face of continued very rapid monetary growth, fueled in large part by a \$3.6 billion cut in bank reserve requirements.

The surge in the money supply seems to have pushed expected future inflation higher, even though actual current inflation is still declining. In fact, the real cost of short-term credit has increased significantly, since current inflation has been dropping while nominal rates have increased modestly.

The Budget Deficit. Over the last six months the Treasury has been borrowing at an annual rate well in excess of \$200 billion. Meanwhile, demands for funds from the household sector — for home mortgages and for consumer installment purchases — are now starting to rise. There is concern among participants in the financial markets that if the Federal Reserve tried to hold down interest rates in the face of large credit demands from the Treasury, this would lead to excessive growth in the money supply.

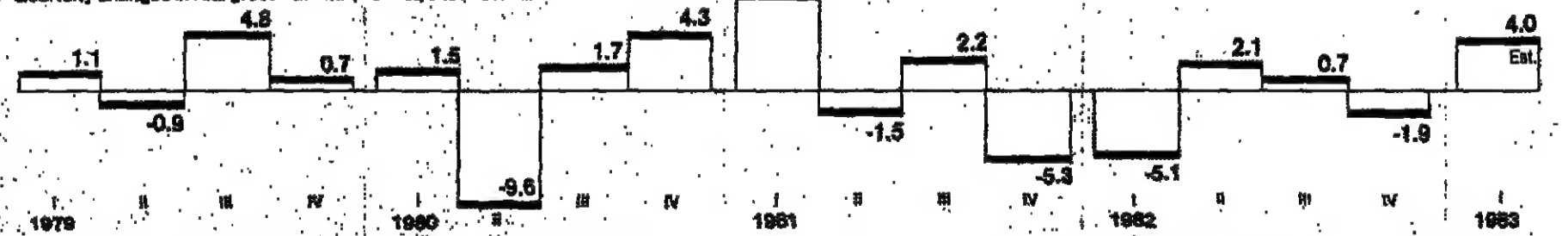
The parallel is not precise, but from May through November 1980, growth in the money supply surged, only to be followed by a new spike in interest rates and renewed recession.

International Trade Problems. A sustained United States economic recovery is obviously a critical domestic issue. Equally as important, in the view of most economists, are the international implications of American performance as well as the impact of the world economy on the United States. Most analysts are agreed that without growth in the United States, it will be difficult (perhaps impossible) for other industrialized nations to expand.

At the same time, underdeveloped nations — which have roughly \$600 billion of international debt, much of

G.N.P.'s Bumpy Ride

Quarterly changes in real gross national product, at annual rates



Source: Commerce Department

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Big Steel Turns Into an Importer

U.S. Steel, after years of haranguing Congress about the need to keep cheap foreign steel out of this country, is trying to import some for itself. It hopes to buy steel slab — a product not covered by quotas — from the British Steel Corporation for less than it would cost to make at the company's big mill in Philadelphia. But the price to be paid could be much higher than the cost of some cold-rolled steel. The whole idea has infuriated the United Steelworkers union, which recently agreed to wage cuts that management said were necessary to save jobs — jobs that union officials feared they would lose to cheaper imports. Now the workers have lost both money and faith in management.



British Steel's boss is losing his job, but he has another lined up. Ian MacGregor, the former head of AMAX — who is known in Parliament as the Fatcher of Britain — is moving on to the country's National Coal Board with instructions to return the Government-owned company to profitability. The Scots-born American citizen tried to do just that at British Steel by slashing employment and output. But the recession-wracked steelmaker is losing as much money now as it was when he took over three years ago. That record has given Britain's unionists — and boisterous M.P.'s — something to hoot about.

Britain cut its oil prices once again, to just under the \$30-a-barrel figure that OPEC recently set as the price for Nigerian crude, the main competitor to North Sea oil. The Nigerians said Britain was acting within the spirit of the OPEC pricing structure and thus they would not lower their prices to matching levels. But such OPEC restraint may not last for long. Demand for oil still remains very weak and cash-starved oil producers may soon need to cut prices just to bring production up to their new OPEC quotas.

The nation's leading indicators rose 1.4 percent in February, much more than analysts had expected. But on closer inspection, the index was rather downbeat. And the news that the unemployment rate had dropped a mere one-tenth of 1 percent in March, to 10.1 percent, did little to lift spirits. Two key components of the leading indicator index — new orders for consumer goods and plant and equipment — actually fell, reflecting the view of many economists that the recovery is getting a bit ragged. The index was propelled to its sixth monthly gain by what many see as a more negative development — a surging money supply.

There was also negative news in machine tool orders, which fell 40 percent in February, and factory orders, which declined 2.2 percent, the largest monthly drop since October. Perhaps more worrisome was the worsening of the trade deficit, to \$3.58 billion in the month. Although the Government narrowed its trade deficit forecast for 1983 to \$50-60 billion from \$60-70 billion, that's still a record high and a drag on the economy.

Interest rates gained, more because of technical reasons than any economic developments. Several large banks, trying to offset the rising cost of funds, lifted their broker-loan rates,

a move that sent stock prices sharply lower. The Dow Jones average finished the week at 1130.03.

Paradyne, a high-flying high-tech company, came back to earth after the Securities and Exchange Commission charged it with fraud and deceit in winning a \$100 million computer contract from the Social Security Administration. The S.E.C. said the Florida-based data-communications company dressed up a computer made by Digital Equipment with its own nameplate and, only after getting the contract, did it get to work making its own. The industry was stunned, as was Wall Street, where Paradyne's stock — which traded at \$2 last year — dropped seven points or nearly one-fifth of its value, to \$2.7.

Chrysler, getting healthier by the day, raised \$432 million in the marketplace, money that will be used to repay lenders under a complex recapitalization plan. The once near-bankrupt auto maker sold the 26 million shares — up from a planned \$2.5 million — at a price of about \$16.50, well above the \$4 the company was trading at only a year ago. Chairman Lee Iacocca was euphoric: "We're ahead of the competition on value, on style, on comfort and on fuel efficiency."

Lewis D'Vorkin

The Economy

it now being renegotiated — are depending on growth in the industrial countries to help them solve their problems.

But none of these problems can be viewed in isolation. High real interest rates in the United States have attracted funds to the United States, which helped to push up the value of the dollar in the foreign exchange markets, which cuts into American exports. According to Scott E. Pardee, executive vice president of the Discount Corporation of New York (and erstwhile head of foreign exchange operations for the Federal Reserve), there has been a "serious" deterioration of American trade performance owing to "appreciation of the dollar over the past two-and-one-half years and the worldwide recession."

In fact, all of the decline in the real output in the United States from the beginning of 1980 to the end of 1982 — and then some — can be traced to a drop in net exports.

Despite all such problems, the dominant view is that economic growth will continue. Most economists believe that if the combination of lower inflation, lower oil prices and lower interest rates holds together, the way should be clear for sustained growth. There seems to be general agreement that inflation will not reaccelerate in 1983 — almost irrespective of the economic growth rate — and the hope, at least, is that the Federal Reserve will be able to control interest rates.

In fact, the Reagan Administration, along with many private economists, has raised its sights for the economy in 1983. About a week ago, Martin S. Feldstein, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, confirmed widespread reports that the official projection of the expected change in G.N.P. — fourth-quarter to fourth-quarter — had been raised to 4.7 percent from 3.1 percent. On average for the full year, total output is now projected to grow by 2.9 percent, up from 1.7 percent.

If Mr. Feldstein's new forecast turns out to be correct, G.N.P. this year should average about \$1,519 billion. Reflecting the stagnation of the last four years, this would represent an annual rate of increase of less than seven-tenths of 1 percent since 1979.

The change in the Administration's forecast was similar to — though a good deal larger than — what private forecasters have been doing. Robert J. Eggert, who compiles a monthly tabulation of about 45 forecasts, said that during March the "consensus forecast" for the increase in the average level of G.N.P. this year was 2.7 percent. In February, the corresponding projection had been 2.5 percent.

Even with this more optimistic view, the unemployment rate is still expected to average 10.1 percent this year, while the rate of change in prices should range between 4 percent and 5 percent.

Several elements are common to most of these forecasts. Consumer outlays, especially for autos and housing, should be strong. But the consensus outlook for industrial production — which usually rises considerably more than G.N.P. during a business upswing — is an increase of only 2.8 percent.

This reflects the expectation among most forecasters that both business investment and exports will be relatively weak. According to Mr. Eggert's survey, plant and equipment outlays, as defined in the G.N.P. accounts, should decline 1.5 percent this year before adjustment for price changes.

The swing factors in the domestic economy so far in 1983 have been housing and inventories. Monthly estimates of G.N.P. by Townsend-Greenspan (the official data are published quarterly) indicate that real investment in residential structures averaged \$47.2 billion in January and February, up at an annual rate of more than 90 percent from the prior two months.

Housing starts were up sharply too, hitting a seasonally adjusted annual rate of more than 1.7 million units in January and February, well above the fourth quarter's average of less than 1.3 million units. Since actual residential investment lags behind starts, the most likely prospect is that housing will also provide a material lift to the economy in the second quarter.

The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED MARCH 31, 1983				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
RCA	8,832,700	24 1/2	- 2 1/2	
Chrysler	5,742,400	17	- 1	
Pard	4,820,500	28 1/2	- 7	
Exxon	3,761,800	30 1/2	+ 1	
Bald	3,471,600	11 1/2	- 6 1/2	
AtRich	3,220,000	42 1/2	+ 3 1/2	
Waste	2,895,900	41 1/2	- 6 1/2	
IBM	2,711,300	101 1/2	+ 4	
Schlmb	2,684,700	42 1/2	+ 1	
PhilP	2,483,600	33 1/2	+ 2 1/2	
Mobil	2,483,300	28 1/2	+ 2 1/2	
AmHess	2,451,300	24	+ 2 1/2	
ATT	2,322,000	64 1/2	- 1 1/2	
UOICal	2,240,200	33 1/2	+ 3 1/2	
DowCh	2,185,600	27 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
Standard & Poor's				
WEEK ENDED MARCH 31, 1983				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
400 Indust	175.7	188.8	171.6	+0.59
20 Transp	27.4	26.0	26.6	+0.08
40 Util	61.9	60.8	61.3	-0.39
40 Financial	19.2	18.7	18.9	-0.23
500 Stocks	159.4	150.6	152.9	+0.29
Dow Jones				
WEEK ENDED MARCH 31, 1983				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
30 Indust	1158.4	1125.2	1130.0	-10.08
20 Transp	519.0	504.8	507.3	-8.18
15 Util	128.8	123.9	124.5	-1.80
65 Comb	458.1	444.0	448.0	-5.28
The American Stock Exchange				
WEEK ENDED MARCH 31, 1983				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
Dome P	1,260,200	3	+	%
Cyprus	1,147,300	2	+	%
Teleph	1,043,400	15 1/2	+ 2 1/2	
ImpCh	713,100	6	...	
Somk wC	656,000	3 1/2	- 1/2	
TexAir	655,900	10 1/2	+ 1/2	
Techm	627,700	24 1/2	- 5 1/2	
Wang B	516,700	33	- 1 1/2	
DePd	402,700	23 1/2	- 1 1/2	
CrytO	356,500	13 1/2	+ 1 1/2	
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
874	1,253	2,139	285	20
VOLUME				
(4 P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date	Same Per. 1982	
300,201,580	5,375,185,579	241,422,440	3,327,807,723	
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
High	Low	Last	Net Change	
102.8	100.2	101.5	+0.57	
84.8	83.5	83.5	-0.77	
46.8	45.2	46.2	-0.45	
95.1	93.7	94.1	-0.48	
89.0	87.7	88.0	+0.22	
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	Transp	Util	Finance	Compo
102.8	84.8	46.8	95.1	89.0
100.2	83.5	45.2	93.7	87.7
101.5	83.5	46.2	94.1	88.0
+0.57	-0.77	-0.45	-0.48	+0.22
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
389	377	904	108	6
VOLUME				
(4 P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date	Same Per. 1982	
27,358,325	528,710,855	17,316,046	280,791,239	

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Arms and the Man

Well, what's it to be, Mr. President — a holy war against Soviet evil or a sober struggle to find a way to share the planet with the devil?

Each day brings a slightly different Ronald Reagan. Given the choice, we favor the statesman in Beverly Hills last week. His grasp of cold-war history was shallow; no amount of patriotism can justify the claim that the United States never abused its global power or never propelled the arms race. But Mr. Reagan's perception of the American dilemma was noble: "We must both defend freedom and preserve the peace. We must stand true to our principles and our friends while preventing a holocaust."

And his plea and pledge were moving: "Four successive Administrations have made proposals for arms control and [weapons] modernization that have become embroiled in political controversy. No one gained from this divisiveness. All of us are going to have to take a fresh look at our previous positions. I pledge to you my participation in such a fresh look and my determination to assist in forging a renewed bipartisan consensus."

You can dismiss all that as just lather, from a President whose nuclear diplomacy and military spending are under vigorous attack. He is looking to restore his power to push through the MX and other dubious weapons and to delay negotiations until the Russians can count the new missiles in his quiver. We prefer to think, however, that Mr. Reagan is approaching reality; that he now knows that the harder the line he wants to pursue toward Moscow, the greater must be his concessions to competing American demands, allied unity and, yes, Soviet sensibility.

Mr. Reagan is right to contend that the nuclear freeze movements encourage the Russians to think they can weaken Western defenses without paying a fair price at the bargaining table. He is right to be-

lieve that an American consensus on security issues would bring faster results. And he is right to imply that he shares the blame for dividing America and creating doubt about its purposes.

The world just cannot be remade every four years. The weapons in Mr. Reagan's arsenal and the ideas governing his arms diplomacy were fashioned long ago, in other Administrations. Allies and adversaries can't be jolted at every inaugural and then accused of not cooperating or bargaining in good faith. Signed treaties, if good enough to observe, should not be left unratified for partisan reasons. Statesmen run an endless relay; they can't pretend to be 60-yard dashes and disdain the baton.

If Mr. Reagan hopes to be perceived as a long-distance runner bearing the hopes of all Americans, he has now asserted the right regimen: "a fresh look at our previous positions . . . a renewed bipartisan consensus."

How might that be forged? By reviewing the defense budget and, system by system, justifying it with military doctrines that Americans can understand and accept. By recognizing that a stable nuclear balance is a cause unto itself, unaltered by irritations over El Salvador or Yemen. By distinguishing between diplomatic demands on Soviet conduct and a crusade to weaken its domestic economy and political system. By matching American ambitions to available resources. By staffing the Government with talented officials who have the standing and skill to deal with Soviet leaders.

Consensus cannot mean only "trust your President" — not a President who has heaped mistrust on predecessors in both parties and who once eagerly proclaimed discontinuity. But the needed consensus can be regained — by a President who believes that Americans, no less than Russians, will respond to displays of "patience, determination and national unity." Such a President could indeed make this a memorable Easter.

Rites of Spring

Sap rises, buds unfurl, evenings lighten, the cycle of seasons begins anew. At egg-rolls and altars, Easter rites celebrate the renewability of life. Religious themes of resurrection or deliverance, marked on dates linked to the coming of spring, give Easter and Passover their special richness.

Rites that edge too far from their roots become empty ceremonies. In the Soviet Union, to assuage people's thirst for ritual, the state tries to assume the ceremonial functions of the church. At Palaces of Festive Events, its citizens celebrate the milestones of birth, marriage and death in elaborate rites performed by robed officials. But the new rites "often seem pale imitations and even parodies of what they were meant to supplant," our colleague Serge Schmemmann noted in Kiev last month.

There are some who would like to see more state ritual in the United States. "American public life is starved of ceremony and even, one may say, of pagantry," Henry Fairlie wrote recently in *The New Republic*. The Queen's visit to California moved him to reflect that "Americans might gawk less at the British monarchy if they found some way to celebrate their own public institutions with . . . uplifting pageantry."

Compound Casino Risks

Doctors at Atlantic City's Medical Center report that from November 1980 through 1982, they treated 291 cardiac patients brought from casinos or buses enroute to the gaming halls. The casinos are thus providing almost 16 percent of the center's annual cardiac business.

Hospital officials say some of the casino patrons should stay home purely for reasons of health. "Little old ladies come down, have a big meal, load up on salt, walk more and faster than they would at home and inhale large amounts of smoke," laments Dr.

James Gleason, deputy director of medical services. "At home they wouldn't be allowed to go to the supermarket."

Beyond the excitement, smoke, crowding and overeating, the casinos apparently also foster values that leave little room for the ill. Doctors recount the case of a man who collapsed between two blackjack tables and remained on the floor for 10 minutes as people stepped over him in the pursuit of profit.

In more than the obvious ways, casinos should be labeled hazardous to your health.

Felons Should Not Lead Unions

Roy Williams enjoyed the presumption of innocence and therefore the presidency of the teamsters' union throughout his seven-week trial for conspiring to bribe a senator and misuse union funds. He lost the presumption when he lost his case, on all eleven counts. He should now lose his job.

A substantial prison term awaits Mr. Williams if he is physically able to serve. He has a right to appeal and has a legal right to remain the union's president while it is pending. That should not be. Congress has studied the problem enough; it now needs to pass a bill to disqualify felons from union office, upon conviction.

The Senate passed such a measure last year, but the House Labor Committee refused to move it by any other. Lane Kirkland, the president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., favors the proposed new law to help clean up unionism.

Some argue that the bill would unduly burden the right of appeal, but that is a caricature of civil liberties. The proposed bill is in fact more generous than necessary with officials who abused their trust. It would place their salaries — \$225,000 a year for Mr. Williams — in escrow and pay him for lost time if the appeal succeeds.

Nor would it be unfair to apply the strengthened

law to Mr. Williams. The Federal judge who heard his case, Prentice Marshall, has a reputation for fairness and concern for defendants' rights. He told the defendant: "You have said you are for the working man. Mr. Williams, you sold the working man out. You were willing to take the working man's pension and use it for your own self-aggrandizement." The judge found the union under the control of organized crime, a condition that Mr. Williams tolerated, at the least.

What about convicted corporate executives, or hospital directors? Shouldn't they be kicked out just as quickly? Yes, and so should lawyers and other licensed professionals, especially where there is a pattern of clinging to power and privilege; the teamsters' top leadership has been convicted three times in 25 years. But Congress need not take on the entire universe of corruption all at once.

Judge Marshall ordered a physical examination of the ailing defendant but asked pointedly, "If he is too sick to go to the penitentiary, why isn't he too sick to run the International Brotherhood of Teamsters?" The law apparently allows the judge to force Mr. Williams to resign, but only as a condition of probation. Congress should relieve judges, and the labor movement, of that choice.

Letters

'Mere Man' Fully Equipped to Raise His Children

To the Editor:

Cornelius Sullivan's March 24 letter, "What Only a Woman Can Do," expresses a valid concern with a growing societal perception, unquestionably contributed to by the women's movement, that traditional roles are trivial and demeaning. He leaves the area of just concern, however, and enters the regions of chauvinism, bigotry and ignorance when he places women on pedestals as emotional superiors to men.

A "mere man," Mr. Sullivan writes, cannot be the equal of a woman as a "caring, intelligent presence." Men are "biologically relegated" to a materialistic struggle for profit and success, while women have the option of "raising a human being."

He is wrong. While we do not yet know very much about the neurobiological functions linked with emotion, as far as any research can tell, men are as capable of emoting as women. Any difference in the expression of emotion is probably attributable to a biased socialization process, which encourages women to cry, for example, while deeming it "unmanly" for men to do so. The fact that a woman can become pregnant does not somehow make her a "caring, intelligent presence." Biology should not be invoked to defend Mr. Sullivan's unscientific position.

That position would be disturbing even if biology were not abused in its defense. He conflates maintaining

motherhood as a respected occupation with a supposed male inadequacy for parenting. In reality, both men and women need to find ways to react to the complex demands of parenting



Bob Gale

while pursuing economic survival. Mr. Sullivan is most frightening, and most sad, when he denies men the option of parenting. He concedes that women are fit for both children and business, but he wants them to choose children. He asserts that men, however, cannot succeed as parents, as caring, intelligent beings.

It is just this kind of notion, when accepted into the norms and social processes of a people, that results in

the depressing spectacle of fathers who simply cannot hug their sons, however much they may want to. Mr. Sullivan's views of man's emotional inadequacy, if accepted, would leave man unable to express the most valuable feelings to his closest relatives and friends.

Fortunately, we are now letting men emot, although a letter like Mr. Sullivan's reminds us that there is still a long way to go. An acquired failure to express emotion should not be confused with a biological limitation.

That parenting has become a less respected occupation in this country is another problem entirely. It has nothing to do in any way with a biological male emotional inferiority. Such an inferiority simply does not exist. To pretend that it does is merely an avoidance of a real problem; men still need to be socially allowed to feel and care.

The man Mr. Sullivan pities is not biologically but socially relegated to cold materialism. This is the problem that must be addressed.

MICHAEL LAUDOR
New Haven, March 25, 1983

A Shared Birthright

To the Editor:

If raising children is such a worthwhile and noble goal as Cornelius Sullivan says, why don't more men do it? Women are not sacrificing their birthright — they are offering to share it more equally with men. Despite his contention to the contrary, women are not inherently more loving or more understanding than men are. Anatomy is not destiny.

As the women's movement progresses, it becomes clear that women are no longer feeling obligated to go to work. The option is available, and each woman chooses her vocation without the "shoulds" that used to be. Likewise, men have been given the opportunity to grow — to express their sensitive side, to choose to remain at home to tend the children while their wives work, to enjoy traditionally female activities such as cooking or needlecraft without embarrassment.

The women's movement has provided both men and women with choices, choices that weren't available 10 years ago. Yes, women's and men's goals should be the same: to become humane and caring individuals who can choose whatever life style fits their needs.

CATRY PULLIS
New York, March 24, 1983

Loan Forms and Draft Forms Don't Mix

To the Editor:

I write in strong opposition to the Solomon Amendment's linkage of Federal financial aid eligibility to the registration of draft-age male students under the Selective Service Act.

It is wrong to link unrelated criteria in order to withhold benefits or services from individuals who would otherwise be eligible, especially when the Government already has strong penalties for noncompliance with the Selective Service Act.

In addition, these regulations are patently discriminatory against low-income students, who need financial aid in order to attend college. Only these students are subject to screening by colleges to ascertain compliance with the Selective Service Act. Affluent students are not affected, nor will their education be terminated.

The requirements are reminiscent

of the draft inequities of the Vietnam War, in which the poor bore a disproportionate share of the fighting and suffering. Has our Government learned so little from that tragic example that it proposes new regulations that discriminate against young people from poor families?

The proposed requirements also place added administrative burdens on institutions already hard-pressed by Federal and state cuts in aid to higher education. Financially strapped colleges should not be forced to act as policemen for the Selective Service Act.

I want to add my voice to those others throughout the City University of New York and in higher education who are urging that the law be repealed.

BERNARD W. HARBELSON
President, City College
New York, March 28, 1983

A China Wall Remark Nixon Couldn't Make

To the Editor:

Here's a p.p.s. to your p.s. [Topics March 20] re the Great Wall of China and its reported visibility from space.

Eleven years ago, I had just joined the White House writing staff, headed by Raymond K. Price Jr. Shortly after my arrival, the Presidential party took off for its historic breakthrough visit to the Peoples Republic of China.

Suddenly, an internal furor developed, with writers and researchers calling everywhere trying to confirm something. When I asked Ray Price what was going on, he said that President Nixon had called from Wake Island, saying he remembered that someone had said the Great Wall was visible from space. The President wanted this citation documented so that he could use it in his remarks and conversations in the Peoples Republic.

Price reported (in a good demonstration of White House reach) that he had had NASA check with every American who had been in space. Now scattered all over the country and the world, the astronauts all reported they had not made the remark, and had not seen the Great Wall from space.

"You should have asked me," I told Price, "I used that in a speech I wrote just before coming to the White House. It was a Soviet comonomer who made the reported observation."

We didn't try to verify my recollection, because it would have been unusable, considering the Soviet-Chinese tensions. I knew the citation then but have forgotten it, and don't intend to look it up. But it was a Russian, who was so quoted by Moscow.

Whether he actually saw the wall from space, of course, is another matter.

JOHN B. McDONALD
New York, March 21, 1983

Campus Freedom Ltd.

To the Editor:

Thomas A. Wathen twists logic when he asserts that attempts to revise the coercive enrollment methods of public interest research groups (PIRG's) on college campuses constitute an assault on democratic self-determination (letter March 25).

The real issue is not whether PIRG's perform good works but whether students should be forced to make a PIRG contribution as a pre-condition of registration. What is so democratic about denying an individual's right to freely determine (vote for) his own associations?

JOEL S. WEIN
Upper Montclair, N.J., March 23, 1983

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

Government and Industry Hand in Hand

To the Editor:

William Safire's impassioned appeal for noninterference at all expenses to the "helpfulness" of the international community (Column March 17) fails to recognize the powerful domestic reasons for "helpfulness" that exist apart from its international consequences, whether the latter are intended or not.

The United States stands almost alone in its failure to use the impressive planning resources available to facilitate "helpfulness" for industry. The results are a gap in the data needed by private industry, misdirected use of subsidies of all kinds and confusion among the policy makers.

Quite apart from the need to deal with the overwhelming complexity of any advanced market economy, the ability of the computer to answer the question "What if . . . ?" suggests that sooner or later it must be used by governments to guide millions of private decisions.

To allow decisions to be based entirely on private perceptions of the market when those decisions crucially affect a country's economy is like giving

computers to all the department heads of a corporation and then leaving them to their own devices. It is a "helpfulness" that little to do with "monopolistic" tricks abroad not permitted at home, but it does give some of the companies helped, as well as their governments, a big advantage over competition in a country where too many people see planning as a threat to their economic/political advantages.

Mr. Safire's fear of regimentation might be justified if such planning needed to be a centralized bureaucratic function. In fact, it would be politically and practically feasible only if conducted democratically by a decentralized body representing business, government, labor and consumers.

That would make it an invaluable resource for business, leading to free-market-oriented private decisions and governmental policies that integrate national, regional and international interests with economic and political realities.

ROY V. JACKSON
Wilmington, Del., March 25, 1983

Elisabeth Schwarzkopf and the Nazi Party

To the Editor:

On my return to Zurich, I found the International Herald Tribune of March 18, with your Bonn correspondent's article about musicians' Nazi Party ties [the article appeared in *The Times* of March 17]. The only reason I write at all is that your correspondent neglected to say that I not only answered the 90-odd questions of the Four-Power Allied Denazification Commission but that I was duly cleared.

May I also point out that joining the N.S.D.A.P. was not the same as applying for a passport to the Nuremberg Trials. It was akin to joining a union, and exactly for the same reason: to have a job. Could it possibly be that some of us merely worked hard to become decent singers?

I applied for membership when I was 24, in my second year at the Deutsche Oper in Berlin. I was told by the *intendant* that I must do so if I wanted to continue my career. The membership card never reached me.

My father — a victim of Nazi procedure himself, having refused to join and consequently having lost his position of *oberstudiendirektor* [principal] at the Cottbus Gymnasium [high

school] — urged me to join: nothing was more important to him than my singing. After the war, he was reinstated, and he also became denazification officer in Fulda, working alongside the United States Military Government.

Although it was never in my repertoire, I cannot help quoting Tosca: "Vissi d'arte . . ." ["I lived for art"]

ELISABETH SCHWARZKOPF
Zurich, March 22, 1983

One Professor's Limit

To the Editor:

Chancellor Thomas Stauffer's suggestion that mandatory retirement for professors be abolished [letter March 24] has its dangers. As undergraduates at Oxford, when professors stayed on — or seemed to stay on — forever, we told the story of the professor who was overheard saying: "I know I am an anachronism, and I intend to stay until I become a crying scandal." (Prof.) CHARLES ISSAWI

Princeton University
Princeton, N.J., March 25, 1983



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WASHINGTON, April 2 — This year's Holy Week was marked by an unholy row over nuclear military weapons.

The Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, who is supposed to know more about the West than anybody else in Moscow, chose this, of all weeks, to reject and even mock President Reagan's latest offer to compromise the nuclear issue.

There were demonstrations in Britain and West Germany against placing U.S. cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Europe to match the Soviet SS-20 missiles, now targeted on every European capital.

And even in Jerusalem, of all places and of all times, the Israeli Foreign Minister was complaining that the United States was holding up final approval of the delivery of 75 F-16 fighter planes until Israel got its troops out of Lebanon.

Some Holy Week! But maybe these things shouldn't be taken too seriously. What is serious is the attempt by the politicians, including the President of the United States, to keep the preachers from "interfering" in the debate on the control of nuclear weapons.

Some of the preachers have been insisting that they have a duty to proclaim their faith in the sanctity of human life, and therefore a right to take part in the political debate on the future of these instruments of war.

Some of the politicians are arguing that the spiritual leaders should remember the constitutional separation of church and state and should mind their own business.

"Well," as Mr. Reagan is always saying, we should not forget the past; and on Cathedral Hill in Washington, while the politicians on Capitol Hill were away for the Easter recess, the past was not forgotten.

The preachers were insisting that, while church and state have been separated as institutions since the beginning of the Republic, there was no "w"

WASHINGTON

Holy Week 1983

By James Reston

in separate morals from politics. "Religion in America takes no direct part in the government of society," de Tocqueville wrote in 1835, "but it must be regarded as the first of their political institutions."

Although religious groups and leaders, he added, took no direct part in political activities, religion in America had a decisive, though indirect, influence on the minds and hearts of the people, shaping their morals, manners and customs.

This, clearly, is not as true today as it was when de Tocqueville wrote "Democracy in America" in the 1830's, but even Gromyko and Andropov do not ignore the power of the church.

You can disagree with the Moral Majority in this country, or the Ayatollah in Iran, or the Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland or the Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem. It's easy to do so because we now have "religious wars" fought by people who believe more in fighting than anything else. But you can't deny the power of religion, though it's supposed to be declining in the world today.

There's a problem when the anti-nuclear people in Europe take a stiff-necked moralistic position, presuming to speak for the moral order in the name of the Lord, and then depart

from philosophy and resort to physical action by blockading U.S. military installations. This may be the worst way to get the peace they want.

There is another problem, which even those of us who share the objective of getting rid of all nuclear weapons don't understand about the peace movement, which is what it's called in Europe.

This is the vague antinuclear "plague-on-both-houses" rhetoric about Washington and Moscow, as if they were the same, and Europe could then be rid of them and take care of itself. Nothing would be more popular in America. The response here, I think, would be, "High time!"

There is something silly about all this. President Reagan wants to put more nuclear missiles in Europe. Andropov and Gromyko are all for their missiles but not for our missiles. It's a children's game, because even if we had more or less and could agree on the balance at Geneva, both would still have enough to destroy each other and blow up the world.

This is why there has been such a clash between church and state this Easter. The state is arguing for the power of more and more military weapons, and the church is arguing for the hope and power of reconciliation and, even in Holy Week, for resurrection.

Each in its own way is right, so why not let the debate go on? Let church and state argue about morals and politics — they have done so for centuries. Let Reagan argue for zero-sum missiles and then amend it and have Gromyko reject it. The guess here is that after all the arguments and demonstrations, they'll agree with the old Russian proverb that "a bad compromise is better than a good battle."

The only trouble is that after they agree to compromise at Geneva, no matter how many nuclear weapons they agree on, they'll still have enough to destroy the world they say they're trying to save.

WASHINGTON — This is the time of year when our minds tend to focus on taxes, especially on taxes we don't like. I have one candidate for extinction — the corporate income tax.

There are some critics who argue that, in a sense, the corporate tax has been all but repealed and who bemoan the declining share of total Federal taxes paid by corporations. These critics tend to suggest that the corporate tax should be increased.

The premise underlying their argument is that there is something good about the corporate income tax. Yet as more and more tax scholars are coming to realize, the corporate tax is actually a terrible tax. Far from being increased, it should be systematically scaled downward — with the goal of ultimate elimination.

Some critics accept the false premise that the corporate tax is a good tax because they also accept another false premise — that corporations pay taxes. But, in fact, corporations do not pay taxes — only people pay taxes.

It is impossible to tax a business corporation except in a temporary sense — that is, the corporation does send a check to the Internal Revenue Service. But a corporation is nothing more than a legal arrangement under which individuals conduct business — and, if both the creation of jobs and growth in living standards any guide, an extremely good arrangement at that.

When ultimate effects are considered, it is clear that a business corporation is in effect only a surrogate tax collector for the I.R.S. The ultimate payers of tax are the people who buy the corporation's products, the people who work for it and the people who

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Eliminate Corporate Tax

By Charles E. Walker

provide capital by saving and investing. To the extent that the corporate tax is passed forward to consumers, it is doubtless regressive: People with low incomes spend higher proportions of their income on the products of corporations than do people with high incomes, who save more.

To the extent that the market for a company's products is weak, as with automobiles and steel recently, the tax must be passed back to the factors of production. Workers bear part of the burden, through wage reductions, shorter work weeks and loss of jobs. In addition, as dividends are cut back, stockholders, many of whom are not well off at all, bear the brunt. This in turn discourages saving, investment and capital formation. Productivity is reduced, inflation exacerbated and economic growth hampered.

To top off this list of shortcomings, the corporate tax is in effect a hidden tax; nobody really knows who does pay it — just how much is passed forward, how much backward and to whom. Its ultimate impact is a mystery to layman and expert alike.

When legislators raise corporate taxes — as they did last summer, and as some critics would apparently have them do again — they are truly legislating in the dark.

Despite these gross shortcomings, the political fact is that when a budget crunch occurs, politicians rush to

raise corporate taxes. A case in point is last summer's tax increase. Billed as deficit-reducing "revenue enhancement" through "tax reform," that measure, it is estimated, will raise the corporate tax bill by \$45 billion in 1987, when the legislation is fully phased in.

Why do politicians ignore the question of who really pays the corporate tax? Why do they accept instead the false assumption that a corporation can be taxed without affecting people? The obvious answer is that, just as corporations do not pay taxes, neither do corporations vote — people do. Corporations are much safer political targets for legislators in search of revenue.

These legislators could not sell this political pig-in-a-poke without the cooperation of a press that on most other issues accepts statements of politicians only with extreme skepticism. How long will a press that prides itself on making politicians tell it as it is be party to this deception? When will editors, reporters and columnists face up to the reality of corporate taxation, admitting that this country relies significantly on a tax whose ultimate impact is unknown but that is really a tax on people?

Given the fact that the corporate tax is not really a tax on corporations but a hidden tax on corporate customers, workers and owners, taxing corporations would appear to be about as dumb a way to raise revenue as the mind of man could devise.

But with the newspapers full of stories about corporations paying only small amounts of taxes, and with the Federal budget crunch looming ever larger, get ready for another turn of the corporate tax screw, advanced once again under the label of "fairness," "reform" and deficit reduction. Unless, at long last, the press insists on truth in taxation and begins to tell the public for whom the corporate tax bill really tolls — for you and me.

A Bill To Hurt Consumers

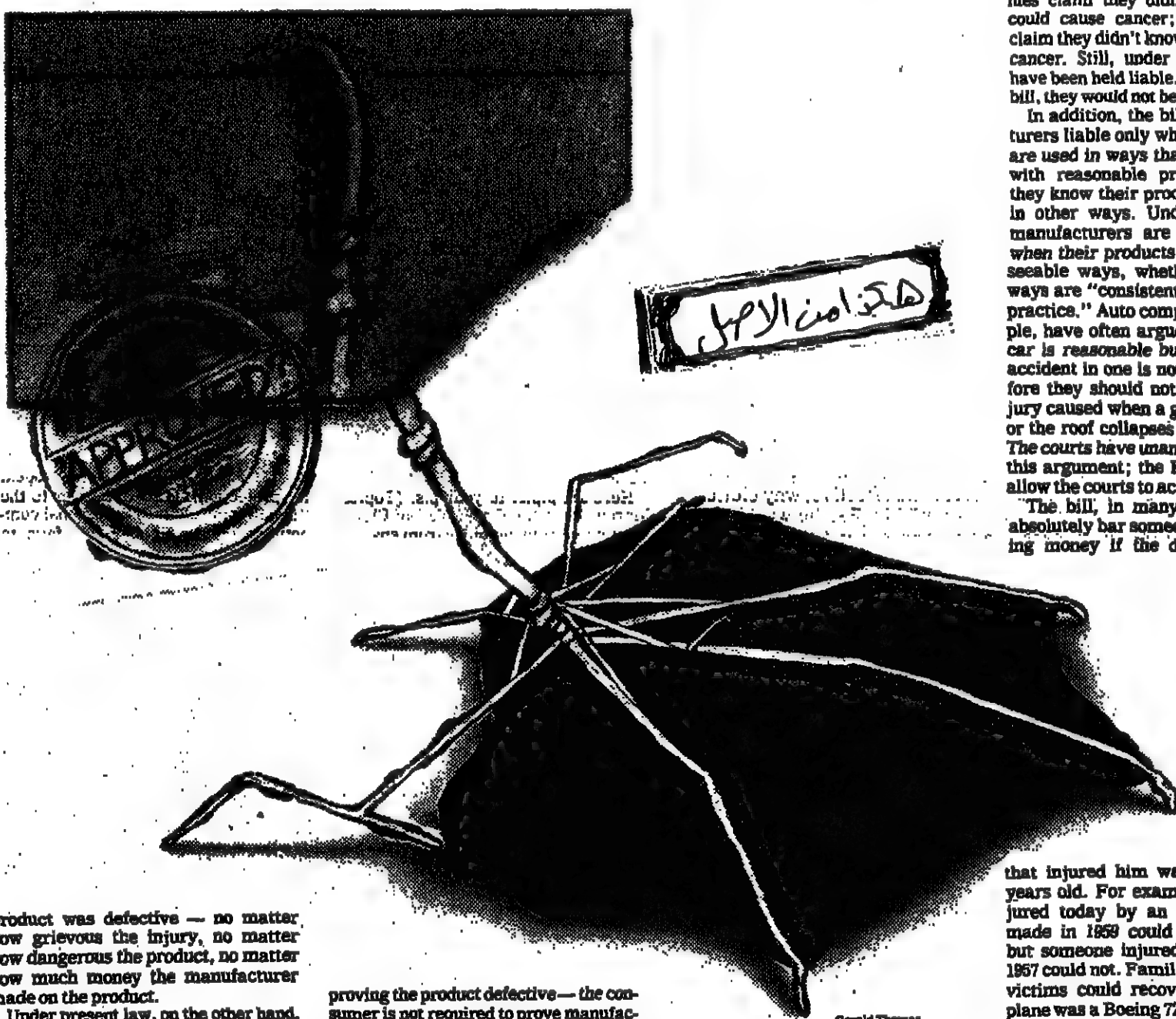
By Jay Angoff

WASHINGTON — If Senator Robert Kasten, Republican of Wisconsin, wins, victims of faulty products will lose. Heavily.

More than 300,000 Americans are permanently disabled each year as a result of product-related injuries, and more than 80,000 die. Among the victims are young women who have vaginal cancer, because their mothers were given the drug diethylstilbestrol (DES) during pregnancy; middle-aged men who have lung cancer because they worked with asbestos for years, and people of all ages with severe burns resulting from exploding auto gas tanks. While compensation can't begin to make up for such tragedies, victims of defective products can at least recover monetary damages from those who made the faulty product and profited from it.

A bill that a Senate Commerce subcommittee begins considering on Wednesday, however, would prevent many of those people from even being compensated by money. The bill, introduced by Mr. Kasten — he has called it his No. 1 legislative priority — and named the Product Liability Act, would prohibit victims of defective products from recovering money from the manufacturer unless they can prove the manufacturer knew the

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product was defective — no matter how grievous the injury, no matter how dangerous the product, no matter how much money the manufacturer made on the product.

Under present law, on the other hand, someone injured can recover money by

proving the product defective — the consumer is not required to prove manufacturer negligence. The asbestos compa-

nies claim they didn't know asbestos could cause cancer; drug companies claim they didn't know DES could cause cancer. Still, under present law they have been held liable. Under the Kasten bill, they would not be.

In addition, the bill holds manufacturers liable only when their products are used in ways that are "consistent with reasonable practice," even if they know their products will be used in other ways. Under existing law, manufacturers are liable for harm when their products are used in foreseeable ways, whether or not these ways are "consistent with reasonable practice." Auto companies, for example, have often argued that driving a car is reasonable but that having an accident in one is not, and that therefore they should not be liable for injury caused when a gas tank explodes or the roof collapses after a collision. The courts have unanimously rejected this argument; the Kasten bill would allow the courts to accept it.

The bill, in many lawsuits, would absolutely bar someone from recovering money if the defective product

that injured him was more than 25 years old. For example, a person injured today by an exploding boiler made in 1959 could recover money, but someone injured by one built in 1957 could not. Families of plane crash victims could recover money if the plane was a Boeing 727 built in 1967 but not if it was a Boeing 707 built in 1957.

You would expect consumer groups and victims' groups to oppose the bill, and they do. But you would also expect conservatives to oppose the bill, for three reasons.

First, conservatives believe in reducing the Government's power and giving power back to the states. The Kasten bill would do the opposite by abolishing the product-liability laws of all 50 states — states have always made their own product-liability laws — and replacing them with one Federal law. Second, the bill would cost the Treasury \$4.5 million a year, the Congressional Budget Office estimates. Under present law, if a Federal worker is injured by a defective product, the manufacturer pays. The Kasten bill would force the Government — that is, the taxpayer — to pay. This is clearly at odds with the conservative belief in cutting Federal spending. Third, the bill would reduce consumers' ability to protect themselves. Conservatives prefer to rely on that ability rather than on Government agencies like the Consumer Product Safety Commission. The existing private litigation system is the primary self-protection tool consumers have. It compensates victims of defective products and encourages manufacturers to do safety research, since they know they will be held liable. The Kasten bill discourages manufacturers from doing such research, because if manufacturers don't know about a defect, they can't be liable for injury it causes.

The bill thus brings conservative principles into collision with the desires of business. While Mr. Kasten resolves this conflict in favor of business, the Administration has not yet resolved it. Should the Administration side with the Senator, however, it will be demonstrating that the only principle it truly believes in is protecting business — regardless of the effect such protection has on the traditional powers of the states, the budget deficit and, not least, consumers' ability to protect themselves.

ABROAD AT HOME

The Turn Of the Screw

By Anthony Lewis

Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, has suffered brutal treatment. A psychiatrist himself, Dr. Koryagin was sentenced to 12 years in 1981 after he documented the horrors done to dissidents in psychiatric wards. An appeal from him was smuggled out of the labor camp at Perm and quoted at length last month in an article by Peter Reddaway in The New York Review of Books.

Dr. Koryagin said the political prisoners at Perm were kept in conditions that "directly threaten and shorten their lives." He said they were physically tortured "through starvation, cold and deprivation of sleep."

A fellow-prisoner at Perm was Yuri Orlov, the noted physicist who led a group established to monitor observance of the Helsinki accords. Dr. Koryagin reported that Mr. Orlov, who is 58, has developed a heart murmur but that a camp doctor refused to examine him from heavy manual labor.

Since writing that appeal, Dr. Koryagin has been transferred to a place with an even more terrible reputation, Chistopol Prison. That is where Anatoly Stecharansky, the leader of Jewish emigration efforts, was taken last year — and has reportedly been near death from mistreatment and a hunger strike.

There have also been rumors lately

that Yuri Orlov has been moved to Chistopol Prison, but there is no confirmation. What is known is that he was beaten up by another prisoner at Perm last fall, that on Nov. 1 he was committed to the camp's internal prison and that his wife has not seen him since 1979.

A tragic example of what official pressures can do outside of prison is the case of Andrei Sakharov, who is kept in internal exile in Gorky. An authentic report says the repeated thefts of his manuscripts by K.G.B. thugs have so depressed him that he has stopped trying to work and neglects his physical appearance. He has phobias but will not go to doctors in Gorky because he says they are all under K.G.B. control.

The pattern is clear. Soviet authorities are trying to reduce all dissidents to total silence, to break their contacts with the West, to make clear that nothing will be tolerated.

Why? It may have something to do with the nervousness accompanying a power shift in the Soviet Union, though the deterioration began before Yuri Andropov took over. More likely it is simply a reflection of deteriorating relations with the United States.

Soviet leaders may reason that there is no point in easing up on internal conditions unless and until there is hope of better relations with the United States — hope especially of serious arms control negotiations. But that could be a serious miscalculation, and those of us who are concerned about human rights and arms control should be the first to say so.

Hans Bethe, the great American physicist, put it: "The most important thing [in curbing the arms race] is to build confidence between the two countries. What the Russians are doing to Sakharov, Orlov and the others cannot help. It makes our task of trying to steer the Reagan Administration back to a more sensible policy much more difficult."

President Reagan's proposal for an interim agreement on a limited but equal number of intermediate-range missiles in Europe seems more likely to lead to a numbers game than to an agreement with the Soviet Union. While the proposal is meant to be more feasible than Mr. Reagan's original plan, the "zero option," it still obscures the real issue — that while all land-based nuclear weapons in Europe, medium-range or short-range, are intended more for political and psychological than military purposes, they are destabilizing and could trigger nuclear war.

Mr. Reagan's zero option, calling for the elimination of all intermediate-range nuclear weapons from Europe, was an honorable but flawed idea.

It was almost inconceivable that the Soviet Union would agree to dismantle its 350 SS-20's, each with three warheads, and 250 SS-4's and SS-5's in exchange for America's offer not to deploy 108 Pershing 2's and 484 cruise missiles. Moreover, the zero option left out British and French submarine-launched missiles and forward-based aircraft missiles, which Moscow insisted should be included in any agreement.

But the President's newly proposed interim agreement also seems inadequate and unattainable.

When Moscow rejected his zero option, it said that if America deployed cruise missiles in Europe, it would also do so and, further, would deploy nuclear missiles within range of the United States. Thus, the new approach, far from becoming the first step toward a Europe free of medium-range missiles, probably would result instead in growing numbers of cruise and ballistic missiles in both Eastern

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Instead, Disarm Europe

By William Epstein

and Western Europe and elsewhere.

Whatever numerical limits are imposed on the Pershing missiles deployed under an interim agreement, such missiles are first-strike weapons because of their accuracy and ability to destroy Soviet command-and-control centers and missile sites six to eight minutes after launching. Even a Soviet launch-on-warning response would be impossible in so short a time. Moscow would therefore have to consider a pre-emptive first strike against the Pershings whenever it was convinced that they were being readied for launching. Thus, deployment of Pershings would increase the likelihood of a pre-emptive first strike by the Russians. The SS-20's pose a parallel problem for the allies.

Cruise missiles are similarly threatening. They fly at treetop height below radar detection and would be equipped with an automatic guiding mechanism that enables them to fix on their targets. The missile is only about 20 feet long and 20 inches in diameter, but it can carry a warhead about 20 times the power of the Hiroshima bomb. Because it flies at subsonic speed, it is not usually considered a first-strike weapon. But any adversary would tend to perceive it as such, because of its accuracy, because it cannot be picked up by ground-based radar and by satellites in time to shoot it down, and because it can be

fired in large numbers. Cruise missiles can be hidden in trucks or anywhere under tarpaulins and could not be detected by surveillance satellites or other national technical means, nor by any practical system of on-site inspection. Since their numbers and location cannot be verified, no government would enter into an agreement for their limitation or elimination. Thus, by pursuing the armament track, the allies would destroy the disarmament track and the hope of getting rid of nuclear weapons in Europe. The newly proposed interim agreement would not solve this basic problem.

Short-range tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe to deter a conventional attack — America has some 6,000, the Soviet Union some 3,500 there — could also trigger a nuclear war. They too should be completely eliminated. Deployed near the East-West border, they might easily be overrun in a conventional attack. Local commanders might needlessly fire them on the basis of "use them or lose them" fear. Once tactical nuclear weapons are used, conventional war would likely escalate to large-scale nuclear war.

The real deterrent to any European war are the superpowers' strategic forces. It would be far better if deterrent forces were limited to sea-based weapons that are clearly invulnerable second-strike systems. Both sides already possess more than enough submarine-based nuclear weapons for European defense than are needed for deterrence.

The objective of negotiations on nuclear weapons in Europe should be a true zero-zero solution whereby all land-based theater and battlefield nuclear weapons would be phased out by a step-by-step agreement and a permanent ban. This would be far better than the President's proposal to deploy a limited number of intermediate-range weapons.

Dennis Hopper, a Survivor of the 60's

By KENNETH TURAN

LOS ANGELES
Most of the people I knew in my 20's are dead," Dennis Hopper says, more in wonder than in sorrow. "Three-quarters of my friends died before I was 30. I was talking to Bob Dylan once and he said, 'When we hit 40, man, we can look at each other and really talk to each other, like hey, how did we do that?' Forty-year-olds are survivors." Like the Chateau Marmont, the trendy old Hollywood pile where he's staying on a visit from his home in Taos, N.M., Dennis Hopper has not only endured but prospered. "Giant," which features one of his earliest acting roles, has just been re-released; "The Last Movie," his controversial 1971 film, recently played England to excellent notices; "Out of the Blue," his first directorial effort in a decade, is about to open in New York, Friday at the Waverly and the New Yorker, and Mr. Hopper feels so good he's begun painting again for the first time in 22 years. "Yeah," he grudgingly admits, "I've almost got my stuff together," though he doesn't say stuff and can't resist adding, with a small, mischievous grin, "I think," and, a few seconds later, "maybe."

There is a surprising amount of the limp, or perhaps it's the satyr, about Mr. Hopper. "I think of myself as a 13-year-old," he says, but he will in fact be 47 in May, as his steel-gray sideburns, if not his remarkably unlined face, testify. His gaze has the potential for unsettling sharpness and intensity, but on this day at least, he was the picture of jokey affability. Asked why he is in such good mental shape, he smiles and says, "Well, man, you know, it's those controlled substances, if you know how to use 'em right," before admitting that he owes much of his stability to his decision to give up alcohol.

"I drank quite excessively, like a lot, and for years," he reports, "but my father was dying and I wanted him to see me sober for the last year of his life." However, Mr. Hopper being Mr. Hopper, the man who says of his now classic "Easy Rider," "It was the first time someone used marijuana on screen without raping and killing a bunch of nurses," that abstinence is not quite total. He admits to still dabbling in drugs, even though "since grass became fashionable, banded out on silver trays at dinner parties, it doesn't amuse me as much as when you had to hide out in a closet and spray the air," and he returns to alcohol when he feels his work demands it.



The actor stars with Linda Manz in his "Out of the Blue."

For Dennis Hopper is an actor who believes "there are some scenes where you should be drunk, not act drunk." He recently completed work as the alcoholic father in Frances Coppola's "Rumble Fish," from the S.E. Hinton novel, "and there was one scene in a bar where I told Frances, 'If we don't get it after the third take, I'm going to start taking shots of cognac.' Frances said no, no, he didn't want me to go back to drinking, but I told him it would be O.K. We shot for 18 hours, I consumed a bottle of cognac, and I stopped drinking again the next day."

Aside from this quasi-retreat from liquor, it is the very fact that Mr. Hopper is "working when so many people aren't" that contributes to his equilibrium. Aside from "Rumble Fish," he

has a sizable role in Sam Peckinpah's forthcoming "The Ostermann Weekend" and plans are afoot to retear him and Peter Fonda in a zany sequel to "Easy Rider." Mr. Hopper says it will be called "Biker Heaven" and will "take place 100 years after a nuclear holocaust, a world of mutant motorcycle gangs. The two of us are brought back to life to restore the flag to the U.S." "It is," he adds, not really necessarily, "a satire."

This kind of activity would be unthinkable in decades past, when Mr. Hopper's reputation for obstreperous behavior made him all but unemployable. "It's always been a love-hate relationship between Hollywood and me," he says, remembering that his first glimpse of the place in the early 1950's brought to mind the beginning

of Thomas Wolfe's "The Web and the Rock," where a country boy arrived in New York "feeling that the whole city was lit for an eternal feast and wondering how to get asked to the table."

For Mr. Hopper, the answer to that particular question has come with age. "I'm not difficult now, I'm not out to steal any scenes, I don't cause people to go over budget," he explains calmly. "I have technique enough to adapt my style, to work in a given format. If you try and do things differently, you stand out as a sore thumb or a pain, and I'd rather not be either one. I realize the director's the director; what he says, the actor better do. You don't come to direct, that's not your business." A pause here, and another grin. "It took me a while to learn that."

It was as an actor that Mr. Hopper first came to "Out of the Blue," the story of CeBe, a fearfully troubled teen-age girl, played by Linda Manz, who wreaks havoc on the world at large and her parents in particular. Mr. Hopper was signed to play the father, a hard-drinking trucker who has been in prison for ramming his truck into a schoolbus full of kids.

Initially the film was to be the first directorial effort of Leonard Yakir, who co-wrote the script as well, but Mr. Hopper says that Paul Lewis, the

to do, has seriously polarized viewers into either lovers or haters. Having shot it in four weeks and two days and edited it in six weeks on one movieola, the director feels "In many ways it's maybe my best film; people who hate it have a real problem. It's better than Bertolucci's 'Luna,' and it's dealing with the same subject matter: drugs, incest, and, rather than opera, rock-and-roll. It's about the society of North America; the family unit is falling apart. People who say all this doesn't exist in this country, where have they been?"

"I'm a social protest painter, I can't help it," he concludes. "I don't know much about the past, I'm not really interested in the future, or in space. I like to make things about what I see. I see a corrupt place, which I kind of enjoy." He leans forward confidentially and half whispers, "I'm kind of corrupt myself."

Dennis Hopper is given to saying things like that, to calling himself "a disintegrated personality" or to ending some of his more baroque conversational rambles with an off-handed "if that makes any sense." Yet at the core he sees himself as a very serious, committed artist — he mentioned the "The Last Movie" Venice Film Festival prize several times during the afternoon — and it is on those terms he feels sure history will redeem him.

"When I studied with Lee Strasberg in New York, I went to the Museum of Modern Art every day," he says, beginning slowly but working up steam. "A real artist is trying to cheat death a little, to be remembered after he's dead. Take Paul Cézanne, he never had a retrospective in his lifetime. Van Gogh, he never even had a show in his lifetime. O.K. Rimbaud, Verlaine, Baudelaire, they led poor and indifferent lives, they weren't the people who were admired, successful. They're inspirational, man."

He pauses here and suddenly brings up a passage from Rilke's "Letters to a Young Poet." "He wrote, 'If it were denied you to create, would you truly die, must you create no matter what kind of dark despair you're in?' An artist has to be that dedicated." As far as Dennis Hopper is concerned, those sentences say it all.

Kenneth Turan is film critic for California magazine and National Public Radio's "All Things Considered."

I've always had a love-hate relationship with Hollywood.

executive producer and a friend since "Easy Rider," "kept telling me the rushes were awful, terrible, unusable, and I told him, 'You're no judge of artists.' Finally, after two weeks of shooting, he told me he was leaving the picture. He said not to worry, my money was in escrow but he was closing it down. That was Friday night. On Saturday, I saw the two hours of footage, which was all unusable, and on Sunday I took over the picture." With Mr. Hopper as the new director, Mr. Lewis agreed to stay on.

Taking over the picture meant making extensive changes in the story and characters. Mr. Hopper made the mother, played by Sharon Farrell, into an addict, turned CeBe into a nascent punk rocker, added a best friend character, played by Don Gordon, an old buddy, decided to use Neil Young's song "Out of the Blue" as a theme and change the title from "CeBe" to accommodate it, and totally revamped the role of Raymond Burr, who plays a kindly, court-appointed psychiatrist. "I don't do pictures unless I have full autonomy," — that Hopper grin again — "which is why I work so much."

With its harsh, strident view of American family life, "Out of the Blue," as Mr. Hopper's films are wont

New Talent Grabs Attention

By VINCENT CANBY

If part of the fascination of Martin Scorsese's fine, dark comedy "The King of Comedy" is the possibility that, at almost any minute, it might blow up in one's face, like a Johnny Carson doll with a time-bomb inside it, then one of the people responsible for this curious mixture of danger and lunacy certainly must be Sandra Bernhard, one of a number of new performers who are giving this season a certain amount of class.

Some of the others: Denis Lawson, George Gaynes, Linda Hunt, Bess Armstrong, Graham Crowden, Gladys Croble, Diane Lane and Tess Harper. They aren't all actually "new," either to life or to films. Miss Croble, who plays the staunch, imperturbable Queen Mum in Lindsay Anderson's "Britannia Hospital," has obviously been around a while — it shows in her exceptional poise.

They are, however, comparatively new to the con-

One of the terrible facts of an actor's life is that fine work often goes unacknowledged.

sciousnesses of American moviegoers and, as such, they deserve the kind of individual mention it isn't always possible to give them in daily reviews.

The actor's life is a precarious one. Every role may be the last. Not until the name appears above the title can an actor feel there might possibly be some continuity of employment. Let's pay attention now.

Miss Bernhard is brand new to films. "The King of Comedy" is her first screen role and the role, as well as her performance in it, are so eccentric there is a danger that all of the roles she may be offered from now on will be variations on the crazy she plays here. I hope not, since there are all sorts of clues in the Scorsese production that she can do other things.

In "The King of Comedy" Miss Bernhard, whose career to date has been as a stand-up comedienne, plays the edgy, obsessed young woman who helps the Robert De Niro character in his manic plot to gain fame and fortune by kidnapping television's biggest star, played by Jerry Lewis.

It's not a sympathetic role. The character is too seriously disturbed to generate warm feelings even in the comic moments, but the performance is so vivid, consistent and intense that no one leaving the theater will fail to remember her. Miss Bernhard doesn't achieve this all on her own. She is backed by Mr. Scorsese, Mr. De Niro and Paul Zimmerman, who wrote the screenplay — all of them at their best.

Yet, her looks and her manner — in this film she's continually ricocheting between sarcastic snarls and desperate, naïve hopefulness — suggest she is someone who could give Gilda Radner a run for the money.

Denis Lawson, who plays the enterprising Scottish accountant, hotel owner and pub-keeper in Bill Forsyth's "Local Hero," has made other films, including Alain Resnais's unfortunate "Providence," without attracting much attention. "Local Hero" could change all that. I can't remember his work in "Providence" at all, but then I've put most of that film out of my mind, except for John Gielgud's performance and the stylized sets.

When one is not familiar with the work of an actor, it is difficult to separate the person from the role being played. Acknowledging that, Mr. Lawson still appears to be a young actor of special comic style. The material is awfully good, but he himself has the sort of unaggressive

handsomeness that seems to fit the role in "Local Hero" without necessarily defining it. The definition is achieved through the sharpness of his intelligence. This, in turn, is his screen presence.

By one means and another, he eventually becomes the center of the film, even though it stars Burt Lancaster in top form and even though Peter Riegert plays the title role with becoming, funny, bewildered modesty. Mr. Lawson is the canny conscience of the Scottish village, around which everything in "Local Hero" revolves.

The Finnish-born George Gaynes has been appearing in opera and Broadway musical comedies ("Wonderful Town") for years, often in support of a female star. His role in "Tootsie," as the supremely self-confident soap-opera star and lady-killer, is also in support of a female star, Dustin Hoffman, but this time the performance is so memorably funny, in such memorably funny circumstances, that I doubt he'll much longer remain one of those actors whose looks are as familiar as his name, though one never puts the two together.

One of the terrible facts of the actor's life is that he can go on in show after show, and in film after film, doing consistently fine work, but if the show or the film doesn't in some way present that work properly, its art goes unacknowledged. "Tootsie" is doing a lot of good things for a number of people, including Mr. Gaynes.

Until the release of Peter Weir's "The Year of Living Dangerously," the name of Linda Hunt was unknown to me, though I've since learned that for some time she has been acquiring a number of admirers for her work in the theater. Currently, she is being praised for her work in "Top Girls," Caryl Churchill's oddball new comedy at the Public.

In "The Year of Living Dangerously" she plays a he, Billy Kwan, the tiny, androgynous, Australian-Chinese journalist who identifies with the Third World and whose disillusion with Indonesia's President Sukarno is designed to be the heart of the movie. "The Year of Living Dangerously" goes to pieces at the end. It's as if Mr. Weir had run out of money, patience and imagination three-quarters of the way through and abandoned whatever it was he originally set out to do. Even so, the role he and his collaborators wrote for Miss Hunt, and her controlled, sorrowful performance in it, help make the film far more disturbing than the stylish romantic melodrama it has become by the time the closing credits come on.

I may be the only person in the country who doesn't know Bess Armstrong as a television star ("Eight Is Enough," among other shows). Before Brian D. Hutton's not-great adventure-comedy "High Road to China," I'd seen her only once, as the pretty, sexy, casually predatory young second-wife, the successor to Sandy Dennis, in Alan Alda's "The Four Seasons."

Her spirited performance in the Hutton film is something of a mini-triumph on two levels — over the material, which is game but lame, and over the personality that seems to have been imposed on her, that of a cheeky, spoiled, 1920's flapper. She registers as a sort of cross between Julie Andrews and Carol Burnett, which is not a bad cross, but she also has a personality of her own that may one day be liberated. She's a cheering film presence with a brisk way with dialogue, even when it's not as funny as the writers originally thought.

Graham Crowden and Gladys Croble are just two of the dozen or so great British character actors who reveal the farcical method of "Britannia Hospital," the tumultuous Lindsay Anderson-David Sherwin satire that New York critics seem to find much funnier than their London colleagues did.

Mr. Crowden, a lean, aristocratic-looking madman, has been doing his bit for queen and empire for years, going back to Karel Reisz's "Morgan: A Suitable Case for Treatment" and the Anderson-Sherwin "O Lucky Man!" However, never before "Britannia Hospital" has he had screen material to build for him a reputation to match the one he has for his London theater performances.



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A WEEK OF BOUQUETS

By LEA LEVAVI / Jerusalem Post Reporter



The Liberals' Sarah Doron — "minister-in-waiting" (Uzi Keren)

ment by women themselves. "I hope women will develop the confidence to want all that they are capable of having and being, and to go out and get it."

FOR NINE years prior to her election to the Knesset in 1977, she served on the Tel Aviv City Council. "I was in Houston when they elected a woman mayor there. Here we do not have even one woman mayor or deputy mayor, and very few women on local councils. I think women's priorities on the issues that affect our everyday lives, which are the issues municipalities and local councils handle, are the right priorities."

Has being a woman hurt her political career? It may have hurt a little at first, she says, but later, such as in getting elected to the Knesset, it helped. "At this point, I really don't think it makes any difference."

How does her architect husband Aaron feel about her political career? "When we first met, I was 17 and very active in the Scouts. Public life was always important to me." She had intended to study law in England, but World War II and her marriage thwarted those plans.

pulls together. I also think our current finance minister is excellent." She cannot gauge what the Liberals' electoral strength would be were they to run in an election alone, but says it does not matter, because the decision to form Gahal and later the Likud were the right decisions. "Thirty years ago, none of us dreamed that we would come to power. The road through the opposition desert seemed very long... I do not think there are more quarrels in the Liberal Party today than there were in the past; the difference is that in the past we had leaders who, despite the differences among themselves, knew how to keep the party united."

In the party's central committee vote on the nominee for the cabinet seat, she received 110 of the 231 votes cast. Her nearest competitor was Deputy Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper with 89 votes. He was backed by Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i, and Doron notes that Moda'i made a very nice gesture in suggesting that after the secret ballot, there be an open vote in which I should be elected unanimously. It was done."

Even Avraham Shapira of Agudat Yisrael, who had publicly said his party would vote against her appointment were it put before the Knesset, called her to congratulate her. MK Doron's opposition to the "Who is a Jew" amendment to the Law of Return has angered the four Aguda MKs, but she says they may not vote against her. "Rabbi (Menachem) Porush, with whom I have worked closely on the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee, gave me to understand that there was no such party decision."

Asked her views on Judea and Samaria, she says she could sum them up in one word: survival. We need Judea, Samaria and Gaza for Israel's security, she believes, and Jewish settlement there, with autonomy for the Arab residents, is the only viable solution. "When I came to Israel from Lithuania in the 1930s, Jaffa was an Arab city. I grew up here in Tel Aviv in close proximity to an Arab population. That does not have to be a problem."

She says she is not sufficiently knowledgeable about negotiations with Lebanon to venture an opinion, and she looks forward to knowing more when she joins the cabinet. "What I can say in the meantime, though, is that we have become impatient. We want everything now."

"We want peace now, and trips abroad, and everything now. It took 30 years to make peace with Egypt, and it will take more time for the peace to develop. I too, would like to see an agreement with Lebanon tomorrow, but if that cannot be we have to learn to bide our time."

Outstanding volunteers

By JUDY SIEGEL-ITZKOVICH / Jerusalem Post Reporter

SEVENTEEN INDIVIDUALS and groups who have spent years volunteering to help others but who weren't motivated by the desire for recognition will be honoured tomorrow with the President's Volunteer Prize.

A committee headed by former MK Mathilda Ghez and organized by the Centre for Volunteer Services sifted through the life stories of 400 Israelis and recommended the winners, who will receive their awards from President Yitzhak Navon in Jerusalem's Binyanei HaUma, before an audience of thousands.

It is the ninth year in a row that the prizes, consisting of a plaque and certificate, are being awarded to outstanding volunteers around the country. As previously, the prizes have been categorized according to field of volunteering.

The following winners will receive the President's Volunteer Prize:

Ally and Absorption: Shmuel Becker and David Saville, two Jerusalem lawyers, came on aliyah from England 12 years ago. For the last decade, they have worked as volunteers to assist olim who are lawyers from English-speaking countries to work in their field here. The two prize-winners help immigrant lawyers from their first weeks in Israel, advising them, helping them to pass their professional exams and to find a work place for their clerkships.

Family and community: The aged and helpless of Dimona have had two guardian angels, Alice Asulin and Dvora Solomon, for years. Asulin, a 44-year-old woman who was born in Morocco and is married with eight children, won the prize in this category along with Solomon, 49, who is married and the mother of three. The two, working as a team in some cases and individually in others, assist the elderly, the ill, the blind and help the retarded and alcoholics. The people they help belong to all ethnic communities and sectors of society and fall in all age groups.

Les Azizi of Hadera has worked for 13 years helping the needy in her neighbourhood. Born in Iran, the 50-year-old mother of five has a handicapped husband, and the couple lost a son. She supports the family, but nevertheless finds the time and emotional strength to aid the helpless. Those who recommend her for the prize said she is known as "mother of mothers" in the community, and that she is a natural leader, gifted with a warm heart and boundless energy.

Ralph Elkin, 77, came on aliyah from the U.S. 10 years ago. He has devoted himself to helping the elderly of Kiryat Ono, where he lives. With his own initiative and funds, Elkin established a centre that employs the elderly, who earn some money despite their limitations. When they are sick, he cares for them and shows his concern. He also took under his wing a school for mentally handicapped youngsters and "adopted" a hotel for the retarded in Rosh Ha'ayin.

Fenna Tawil, 63, is deputy director of the post office in Nazareth. For

over 30 years, she has volunteered in the field of improving the lot of Arab women like herself, and of encouraging the advancement of their children. She initiated and established, in conjunction with Na'amat, the first kindergarten in Nazareth, as well as the women's club. Her intensive efforts on behalf of these institutions have enabled Arab women to go out to work and help support their families. She also helps women and girls to enrol in vocational courses, and enlarged the number of Arab women who volunteer in Nazareth.

Quality of Life and Environment: Sixty-three-year-old Michael Milo is a safety engineer, and the father of three. Despite the demands of his job, he devotes much of his time fighting for the consumer. Since he came on aliyah from Rumania in 1963, the Tel Aviv resident has battled for improving the quality of products and services to the citizen, defending consumers and representing them on committees that set standards for various products.

Health: Zehava Fuchs, 76, is the mother of two and grandmother of five, and a long-time volunteer at Beit Levinstein, the home for chronically ill and handicapped, as well as at a number of old age homes and hospitals. Despite her physical limitations, the Czech-born Herzliya resident visits each of these institutions weekly and lessens the feelings of loneliness among the patients and residents. She also brings them baskets of food and offers encouragement, while trying to solve their problems.

Akissmach is a group of 90 volunteers that has been working for 18 years with 20 institutions for the chronically ill in Haifa. The volunteers took upon themselves the task of running synagogues and festive celebrations in the institutions. As a result of their efforts, candles are lit and *Kiddush* is recited over the wine on Friday evening in impressive ceremonies, and gift food packages are sent to the ill and helpless on holidays. They also organize entertainment by children who visit the institutions.

Defence: Mildred and Abraham Goldstein, who came on aliyah from the U.S. a decade ago, have been operating — at their own expense — a canteen for soldiers since the Yom Kippur War. Located on the Tel Aviv-Haifa highway, the canteen is open every day except Shabbat from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. The family attracted many volunteers who help run the canteen and provide the soldiers with free food and drink.

Education: Disadvantaged youth are the special interest of Gershon Levi, a 60-year-old native Israeli who lives in Jerusalem. He coordinated, as an unpaid volunteer, the encouragement and absorption of youths who, because of their backgrounds, were not accepted by the army. Levi prepared them so that they were able to serve in appropriate positions in the Israel Defence Forces. He also established, with the army's help, seven industrial-vocational schools and work groups for disadvantaged youth that operate in army camps.

There, the young men, who number in the hundreds, learn a trade and are prepared for their drafting into the army. Disadvantaged girls were not neglected by Levi, who initiated frameworks that prepare them for army service and as nurses' aides in hospitals.

Youth: Seventeen-year-old Rachel Snor of Beersheba was awarded the President's Volunteer Prize for her consistent work as a volunteer since the age of 13. Rachel helps Magen David Adom in the ambulance emergency units in Beersheba and Ofakim. She also volunteers for the Civil Guard. For the last two years, she has worked with criminal youths registered with the government's agencies dealing with their rehabilitation. Rachel is also a librarian at the local community centre, and she tutors youngsters who have difficulty with their studies. She is a good student herself, despite the fact that she is a member of a family of eight who live in two rooms.

Volunteers of Amal School in Safad: For the last five years, a group of youngsters who had previously neither studied nor worked, or who had been expelled from other schools, have taken on an important project. The youngsters work on a regular basis curing for 110 monuments to fallen of the Israel Defence Forces in battles on the Golan Heights. They clean the monuments and care for the greenery nearby, making sure that there is easy access for bereaved families. Every year on Tu B'Shvat, the New Year of Trees, they plant saplings at each monument.

Volunteering as a Way of Life: Shlomo Unreich, 71, of Kfar Sava, was cited for his volunteer activities over the last half-century. The Czech-born pensioner is known for working day and night to help new immigrants, the elderly, youth and others needing support. Residents of the area know that he is the address when they are in trouble and have nowhere else to turn. Unreich lost a son in the Six Day War, but did not sink into despondency; rather he increased his volunteer work as a result of the tragedy.

Pastor Per Pla-Hansen: A Norwegian, the pastor has lived in Israel for more than 40 years. Here he established churches for Scandinavian seamen who arrive on leave from their ships. But he also works for the Jews, having helped smuggle Jewish families from occupied Norway to Sweden during the Holocaust, while putting his own life in danger. Realizing that he and his charges were in danger of falling into the hands of the Nazis, he left his homeland and went to Palestine. In the Fifties, he travelled to the U.S. to persuade Jews to come on aliyah. He has also written many books and articles about the imperative of fulfilling Zionism by settling in Israel. He lectures the Scandinavian seamen on leave about Zionism, and also travels to Europe to speak on behalf of Israel. Even at his age, he continues to travel on these lecture tours, and did so recently after Operation Peace for Galilee.

Researchers race against time

By MICHAEL SKAPINKER / Athens

THE ATHENS synagogue stands just a short distance from the foot of the Acropolis and the bustle of the flea market, a scrupulously maintained building amid the run-down houses and workshops that surround it. It continues to serve the small Jewish community of Athens, where the majority of Greek Jewry now lives. Only around five thousand Jews now live in Greece. But in a tiny dimly-lit annex to the synagogue, a small group of researchers is trying to preserve what remains of the costumes, ornaments, books and religious artefacts of what was once one of the most vibrant Jewish communities in the Diaspora.

The work of the six-year-old Jewish Museum is essentially a race against time. "The lack of proper housing for the museum means that we're losing things every day," says Nikos Stavroulakis, the museum's director. "They are being destroyed, thrown away and ruined because people don't know what to do with them."

The small size of the museum means that Stavroulakis and his three assistants are forced to do their research, classifying and cataloguing at desks next to the display cabinets, with little space left for exhibits or visitors. Nevertheless, what has already been collected by the museum provides a small glimpse of the rich mosaic of Jewish communities that once flourished in many Greek towns, villages and islands.

THE JEWISH community in Greece is one of the oldest in the Diaspora. The first evidence of its existence dates back to the third century BCE. Jews appear to have come to Greece either from Palestine-Judea or from Alexandria and Antioch. By

the time of the journeys of St. Paul, there were flourishing Jewish communities in Corinth, Verroia, Thessaloniki and Patras, and also in the islands of Rhodes, Samos and possibly Delos.

During the next centuries, Jewish communities also sprang up in several other centres. All of them spoke Greek, developed a distinctive prayer ritual and even read the Torah in Greek.

The character of Greek Jewry changed substantially, however, in the mid-fifteenth century, when the expulsion of the Jews of Spain saw a large influx of Spanish and Portuguese Jews at the invitation of the Ottoman Sultan Beyazid II. The Spanish Jews brought with them a deeply-rooted cultural and religious tradition, and before long the older Jewish community of Greece was following the Sephardi prayer ritual and reading the Torah in Hebrew.

Many of the newcomers settled in the northern part of Salonica, which soon became an overwhelmingly Jewish city. The Jewish influence in the city remained strong until well into this century. Most of Salonica's commercial activity stopped on Saturday. This was particularly true of the waterfront, where many of the stevedores and porters were Jewish.

AFTER SURVIVING the vicissitudes of 23 centuries, the Jews of Greece suffered their most devastating blow during the German occupation of World War II, when 65,000 of the country's 79,000 Jews perished at the hands of the Nazis. In Salonica, fewer than 2,000 survived.

One of the survivors, Mrs. Elytis Nahman, recalls Jewish life in the northern Greek city of Ioannina in a talk recorded by the museum. "It had been like this for centuries," she says, "until the whirlwind came and swept everything away... Today, after the years, nothing remains but the memories of customs and traditions as they were kept then and are still lived by the few of us who survive."

The Jewish Museum has dedicated itself to preserving the reminders of the old Greek Jewish communities.

The museum has managed to assemble costumes worn by Jews in most of the different areas of Greece, including those used for special occasions, such as weddings and engagements. Stavroulakis says that some of the articles of clothing have been found in junk shops, whose owners had no idea of their significance.

Among the articles collected are such items as embroidered slippers for a bridegroom. It was customary for the bride to prepare the slippers, as well as hand-woven and embroidered towels, sheets and pillow-cases, to present to her husband on their wedding night.

The museum also boasts a collection of prints, engravings and photographs of the Jewish communities. The collection includes books dating back to the early sixteenth century, including a handwritten text by a secretary to Joseph Nassi, the Jewish duke of the island of Naxos. There are also synagogue artefacts and wall-hangings dating back 400 years.

BUT MOST of this remains hidden from public view, awaiting the day when it can be properly displayed in more spacious premises. The museum's lack of resources has also hampered its efforts to retain some of the less tangible aspects of old Jewish life in Greece.

"We started an archive of music and songs," Stavroulakis says. "But unfortunately we don't have the kind of staff that can go out and do field work. We have taped people in the community singing some of the regional songs. They remember the songs their parents taught them as children, but they often don't remember what they were for."

The museum has also collected some of the proverbs of different Jewish communities, as well as some of the regional food recipes, which Stavroulakis hopes to publish in a book of Greek Jewish cooking. Among the recipes collected is one from the island of Zakynthos for *haroset*, the Passah dish that symbolizes the mortar used by the Israelites to build the Pyramids in Egypt. The Jews of Zakynthos used to grind red brick into their particular version.

SAM BENRUBI, spokesman for a group called the Association of Friends of the Jewish Museum, describes the collection as "invaluable." He adds that Constantine Isaacs, the former president of Greece, "went to the museum when he was in office and he said it was a shame to have such treasures in these conditions."

"Unfortunately the community does not have the means to protect the collection from theft or from the weather. What you see is only a small part of what exists. The rest is stored in the worst conditions." The eventual aim of the association, and of its Chicago-based sister organization is to move the museum to larger premises and to establish a separate area for research.

Apart from the tourists whom it attracts, the museum, Stavroulakis says, has "an important role to play as a public educational facility for the Jews of Greece, who are rapidly losing their connection with the past."

Another of the museum's aims is to interest Greek Christians. Referring to the rise in anti-Semitism in Greece which accompanied the Israeli move into Lebanon last year, Benrubi says: "The climate is not very good for Greek Jewry at the moment. But the museum could make a contribution towards teaching Greeks about Jewish history. To abolish anti-Semitism is to make people understand."

(Free Press)

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Nissan 22, 5743 • Jamadi-Than 22, 1403

Frozen attitude

THE U.S. FREEZE, now reaffirmed by President Ronald Reagan, on the delivery of 75 F-16 jet fighters to Israel, will not affect this country's defensive capability for a number of years. The earliest expected date for the supply of these powerful aircraft has all along been 1985. Mr. Reagan's statement last Thursday that he could not authorize the shipment so long as the IDF remained "in the position of occupying another country" can have only a psychological, but not a military, effect.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir has nevertheless taken umbrage at Mr. Reagan's allegation that Israel was an occupier in Lebanon. "Israel," he retorted, "has no territorial designs on Lebanon." But Mr. Reagan, unlike Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko last Saturday, did not claim that this country wished to annex any portion of Lebanon. The novelty of his comment on the subject consisted in the suggestion that by entering, and occupying, Lebanon, Israel had not been acting in self-defence.

For that reason, he implied, so long as Israel's troops were in Lebanon, the freeze on the delivery of the F-16s had to remain in force.

That kind of suggestion would have caused little surprise had it been made by Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. But for the president himself to lend the weight of his authority to it was rather startling. Mr. Reagan had given no prior indication that he believed himself to be barred by law from asking Congress to approve the sale of the jets to Israel on the ground that Operation Peace for Galilee had not been a war of self-defence.

Perhaps Mr. Reagan muffed his prepared script: at any rate, he did startle a number of persons in Washington, not all of them Israeli. Secretary of State George Shultz hastened the following day to correct the president through the State Department's spokesman. Weapons supplied must be only for purposes of legitimate self-defence, and Israel's continued presence in Lebanon raised "concerns" in that regard, the spokesman said. "However, the president was not stating that he was making a determination of illegality under U.S. law."

That was a distinct improvement on the original. But the spokesman still sought to foster the impression that the holding up of the F-16s was a function of the war in Lebanon. In fact, the failure of the Reagan administration to submit the required "notification" to Congress regarding the aircraft may be traced back to Israel's bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in June 1981.

A year later, when the Lebanese war took a turn that was not exactly to Washington's liking, the original decision was invoked afresh. Yet Mr. Reagan's threat to stick by the ban so long as Israel stayed in Lebanon was also, by implication, a promise that, once Israel withdrew from Lebanon, the ban would be lifted, and there would be no further extensions of it.

There is thus no reason for undue chagrin over the president's statement, at least as corrected, especially when it is noticed that other valuable U.S. weapons are actually in the pipeline. The withholding of weapons already promised has been a standard means of American political pressure on Israel over the years, and fears that it might one day lead to an actual rupture have so far been found exaggerated.

For all that, the violent reaction of some Israeli officials, including cabinet ministers, to the president's statement is understandable. Mr. Reagan completely ignored the series of very substantial concessions made by this country in the past several weeks in the talks on the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon. That was both unfair and ungracious.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE are a polity, that is, an organized body with a corporate character, as well as a congeries of individuals of a particular ethnic background, and a religious community. Every polity must have three dimensions: a political dimension, which provides it with a framework with governing institutions; a private dimension, through which its members pursue their own needs and interests; and a civic dimension to express collective but non-political aspirations.

However much a people needs political power, and individuals need room for their private pursuits, in a free society people must be able and willing to come together on a voluntary basis to pursue common ends and must have the space in which to do so. These are the three legs of the stool of any democratic society. If any one of them is missing or too weak, the stool will eventually topple.

The very nature of contemporary Jewry assures that the private lives of Jews will be protected. Since emancipation, no Jewish community has been able to function on any basis other than recognizing the private dimension, unless individual Jews have voluntarily chosen to surrender their private authority to some Jewish collectivity, something relatively few have done.

Indeed, it was the effort to acclimatize Judaism thoroughly to modernity that was at least partly responsible for the Zionist revolution, which was an effort to restore a collective Jewish presence to the world arena. In keeping with modernity, that presence was eminently political by design. The Zionist Movement was a political movement, and the World Zionist Organization not only accepted its political role as central, but has also continued to function primarily as a political body ever since.

THE ZIONIST movement arose as one response to a general Jewish dissatisfaction with the strictly private approach to Judaism and Jewish existence. Parallel to it, there developed other bodies in the various countries of the Diaspora that are best defined as civic in character. In the sense that their concern was primarily to improve *civitas*, the community, rather than to capture or revolutionize it, to serve the public needs of the Jews, without attempting to give them overt political expression.

Among the bodies that developed at the same time as the WZO and its constituent parts were the Jewish community federations of the U.S. Originally federations of Jewish welfare and philanthropic institutions, they became the foundation

A CIVIC PROPOSAL

By DANIEL J. ELAZAR

stones for the so-called "non-Zionist" — or more accurately community — representatives who now share control of the Jewish Agency with the WZO.

Thus in the U.S., the major Diaspora centre, and in other English-speaking centres, a basis was being established for a Jewish civic life parallel to the Jewish political life being developed in Eretz Yisrael.

It is not entirely surprising, given the circumstances, that precisely in those communities where Jewish civic life developed most fully, the Zionist Movement was weakest, since it was in those countries the Jews were rapidly and deliberately becoming part of the larger society with the minimum of self-segregation. While they needed to give public expression to their Jewishness, they were less interested in giving it political expression.

In both cases, what developed was incomplete. Jewish life in the Diaspora was incomplete, because only in a Jewish state can Jews have political control over their destiny. In Israel a pattern was established by the pioneer settlers that reflected Eastern Europe, which led to over-politicization of the public sector to the detriment of a serious civic life. This was not contradicted by the experiences of Jews from Afro-Asian countries, where political life often was the private preserve of the rulers.

It led, after the establishment of the state, to a statism that was as all-pervasive as is possible in a democratic society. Ben-Gurion's *mamlakhtit* (statism) policy was manifestly designed to strengthen the state, rather than carrying on governmental functions through the party institutions of the pre-state period, with its negative aspects. But it also had the effect of nearly crushing whatever shoots of a civic life that had begun to sprout in the pre-state *Yishuv*.

Mamlakhtit, with all its implications, was acceptable as long as the majority of Israelis saw themselves as fully part of one or another of the three great political-ideological camps of the Zionist Movement — the labour, the civil or the religious camp. But as commitment to ideology diminished for all but the religious, there was a falling-away

from commitment and the political involvement it entailed. The result was a breakdown of the original vision of the Zionist Movement, and a concomitant privatization of life in the Jewish state. In part, this change came as a relief from over-politicization and in part for lack of an alternative.

Now, however, the people of Israel are ready for the construction of the third leg of the stool, namely a civic life that will address the Israeli public and their problems without being politicized. The proliferation of civic and social improvement groups in recent years, whether to deal with the handicapped or to protect the natural environment or whatever, is testimony to this fact. Herein lies a new opportunity for redeeming the Zionist Movement and strengthening the Jewish Agency as an instrument by, for and of the Jewish people.

WITH THE establishment of the Jewish state, virtually all of the indigenous power of the WZO and its instrumentalities was transferred to the government and political organs of Israel, whose leaders, formerly the leaders of WZO, proceeded to strip the movement of its independence. Reluctantly concluding that they could not abolish the WZO and the Jewish Agency, they wanted the new state to dominate the Zionist Movement so as to assure that the reverse would not happen.

Among other things, this meant that key positions in the Zionist bodies would be distributed on a proportional basis, according to the elections to the Knesset. The leaders of the Israeli institutions under WZO control were seconded from the state's political arena and did not have indigenous constituencies.

The formal existence of an Israel Zionist Council, which remained a shadow body, reflected this monistic approach, which denied the Zionist Movement as an organized movement a base in Israeli society apart from that provided by the state, which obviously took precedence in all political matters. As a real Zionist Movement in Israel died, Zionism outside of the state began to atrophy.

To be a Zionist meant to be one who spoke loudly for Israel's cause but did not fulfil the ultimate Zionist commitment of settling in the Jewish state. This fact — the institutionalization of hypocrisy — by itself served to discredit the movement in the eyes of most Jews. At the same time, Jewish civic life in most Diaspora communities had developed to the point where what organized Zionism had to offer was irrelevant or unnecessary for Diaspora survival, except on a peripheral basis.

The only way the Zionist Movement can hope to revive itself is to establish a sphere of direct action within Israel. It is not only the height of irony for the Zionist Movement to have become strictly a Diaspora movement, but this is also a guarantee that it will become increasingly important. Successful leadership in the Jewish world is necessarily leadership by example. Both the IDF and the UJA-Keren Hayesod reflect this, each in its own way. Organized Zionism shows this in a negative way.

GIVEN the realities of statehood, the only way the Zionist Movement can get a piece of the action in Israel would be to transform itself from a political into a civic movement, one concerned with improving the quality of life, rather than competing for spoils. Let no one underestimate the difficulty of this proposal.

A civic-based Zionism in Israel could lead to a similar Zionism in the Diaspora, one which could have a purpose beyond providing offices for a relatively small number of Jewish activists, which is rapidly becoming the case today.

The tasks of such a Zionism could span the entire spectrum of "quality of life" issues. It could address itself to local civic concerns and to issues of social and cultural integration in the state. An Israeli civic Zionism might find a role in Project Renewal as a counterpart to the Diaspora involvement.

One very important task of such a movement would be an "Israeli UJA," which would raise funds among an increasingly affluent population to contribute to the common treasury of the Jewish people. This could be Israel's share in support of common Jewish tasks

throughout the world. Such a step would end the present situation of funds flowing only in one direction and would shatter the image that poor Israel is dependent on Diaspora support to survive.

This is, in fact, no longer true, but is a myth perpetuated to maintain the "campaign." Since truth will out, this myth is becoming increasingly dysfunctional. Funds from the Diaspora constitute 4 per cent or less of the total Israeli public sector expenditure, and the Israeli Government even gives money to the Jewish Agency. Yet Israel is still presented as a needy recipient of Diaspora support rather than as a partner in a common Jewish effort, because there is no equivalent voluntary fund-raising mechanism in the Jewish state.

WHAT IS needed is to transform the Israel-Diaspora relationship into one of partnership in serving world Jewish needs, something which the development of a real Israeli *magbit*, or fund, could do. (An Israeli UJA exists, but it is confined to dunning a few large corporations for relatively modest amounts.) Such an effort could also fill the functions of a United Way or Community Chest for internal Israeli needs as well.

Such evidence as we have indicates that Israeli Jews are as generous in their voluntary contributions as one would expect Jews to be anywhere. Only these contributions are solicited in dribs and drabs, with no concentrated annual campaign devoted to major philanthropic purposes — what is known in the U.S. as federated giving. Hence the sum raised remains relatively small.

As long as Israelis had not attained affluence, this could be understood, but with the existence of a substantial class of Israeli millionaires and the general affluence permeating Israeli society today, there is no longer any reason why Israelis should not develop the same systematic efforts and, as a result, rise to the giving levels of other Jewish communities.

If the Israeli Zionist Movement could contribute to these ends, it could give the WZO new life. Not only that, but the Israeli Zionist organization could also become a fitting partner for the Diaspora Jewish community leadership in the Jewish Agency. That body, in turn, could truly become an instrument of the Jewish people and its worldwide polity.

The writer is president of the Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs and Senator N.M. Patterson Professor of Intergovernmental Relations at Bar-Ilan University.

Trouble in Sudan

By LEO OMOLO/Juba, Sudan

when the U.S. sent surveillance aircraft to watch the Sudanese-Libya border, apparently in response to reports of an impending Libyan invasion. Libya vehemently denied the allegations, and the incident fizzled out.

Southern rebels believe the invasion stories were invented by the Sudanese Government to attract support from the West and moderate Arab governments. "It was a hoax meant to divert international attention from the country's ailing economy and swelling debt," they argue. The country's foreign debt is running at almost \$8 billion.

The southern rebels talk openly of their support for Gaddafi as "the Messiah against Arab imperialism." Allegations of Libyan-supplied

arms are impossible to assess. But there certainly is evidence that the Anyanya II fire power has increased tremendously in recent years.

MISSIONARIES and international relief workers in southern Sudan say they have run into Anyanya II road blocks with military equipment as sophisticated as that used by the regular Sudanese army.

An Arab official in Juba, the southern provincial capital, dismissed these claims as rubbish, and said that most of the weapons were acquired from the thousands of Ugandan soldiers who crossed into Sudan following the ousting of Idi Amin in 1979. The ex-soldiers, he said, brought heavy weapons like machine guns, artillery pieces and even anti-aircraft batteries, as well

as jeeps, and sold them to southern Sudanese rebels in return for money and food. "But these people will soon run short of ammunition, and peace will prevail," the official asserted.

Peace, however, is jeopardized by economic hardship, which is felt most in the under-developed south, where leaders voice concern at the high levels of poverty, illiteracy and disease. The lack of development has created disillusion and discontent among many of the young. There is widespread lawlessness in the south, and a mutual distrust between black soldiers and Arab officers sent by the central government to maintain law and order in the region. On occasion, the indigenous soldiers from the south have reportedly defied their Arab

officers, and even allegedly kidnapped Arab soldiers at gun-point.

But the south is not united. The provinces of East and West Equatoria recently initiated a move to split from the south, which they regard as dominated by the majority Dinka people. The two provinces wanted to form a region of their own.

The most serious recent act of violence was the massacre of 15 Arab merchants in the town of Arat. Khartoum imposed a clamp-down on news of the incident, which it blamed on "banditry."

During my stay in the south, I saw a large number of Arab troops being brought in to maintain law and order. Unrest has spread rapidly, and many African soldiers have deserted rather than be posted outside their region. Deserting soldiers often disappear with weapons, and the area lacks effective police supervision.

(GEMINI)

The writer is a widely-travelled Kenyan journalist. He reported from Uganda during the Amin regime at considerable personal risk.

POSTSCRIPTS

PS HUNGARY may be the "merriest barracks in the Communist camp," but Hungarians are killing themselves in droves.

The Hungarian suicide rate, traditionally the highest in the world ever since statisticians began keeping records on it shortly before the turn of this century, has now reached epidemic proportions. In 1981, the most recent year for which figures have been made public, 4,880 Hungarians took their lives — a rate of 45.6 per 100,000 population. No one seems to know the cause.

The rate is nearly double of that in neighbouring Austria and Czechoslovakia, the countries that have always ranked second and third in suicides behind Hungary, and three times higher than in, for example, the U.S., Bulgaria, Yugoslavia or France.

PS THE RECENT case of Revital Ronna, 19, who has written a novel instead of a final exam in history for matriculation, is not the first, although it is the best-publicized. Revital, of Beersheba, is merely following in the footsteps of seven 12th-graders who, three years ago, fought the bureaucratic machine.

The seven, also from Beersheba's Comprehensive High School Daled, decided, along with their teacher, that writing a historical novel was more of a challenge and more interesting than writing a regular exam. Therefore, despite great skepticism and pressure (nobody in the Education Ministry had an idea of how to grade these offerings), the seven pioneers each wrote a novel based on one historic figure from the time of the Second Temple.

Most of them got very high marks — both for actual knowledge and for imagination and style. — L.M.

READERS' LETTERS

NABLUS ELECTIONS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir. — In his article of March 15, David Richardson refers to those who lost the 1976 municipal elections, and the possibility of their re-entry into the game.

Kindly note that at that time I was elected as a member of the Nabulus Municipal Council and Deputy Mayor.

I have no business interests in Saudi Arabia.

ZAFER MASRI

Nabulus.

REFUSEDNIK

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir. — I wish to draw attention to the plight of my friends Alla, Emanuel and Misha Smelianski of Tashkentskaya 17, Apt. 42, Moscow, who, on March 31 of this year, will have been waiting 12 years to leave the Soviet Union for Israel. This makes them one of the oldest refusednik families.

Emanuel is a metallurgical engineer, but, since his application to leave, has had to work as a night watchman on a very meagre wage. Their sick and ageing mother in Israel cries and prays all day that she may be granted her only wish in life, to see her children before she dies.

Repeated appeals to the Soviet authorities, including Mr. Andropov, have so far been ignored. I now make this urgent request to those in authority in the USSR to make a humane gesture and reunite the Smelianski family with their old mother in Israel whilst she still lives.

LESLIE DONN

Manchester.

THE RIGHT TO DEMONSTRATE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir. — The Tel Aviv police prevented 12 strikers from approaching a rival plant to protest against the breaking of their strike (March 23). If this report is correct, the police again exceeded their powers in connection with demonstrations.

Provided no speeches are made and as long as they do not move in procession, any number of people may, under the law, assemble to demonstrate quietly, holding posters. They do not require a police permit. Nor do less than 50 people who gather listening to speeches or who demonstrate in procession.

Fifty persons or more do require prior police permission to hold a protest meeting where speeches are made or to march through the streets. Such permit may not be withheld just because a disturbance

of the peace by others is anticipated. A refusal to issue the permit may be appealed to the High Court of Justice — which the Association for Civil Rights in Israel successfully did this month.

Thus the police had no right to interfere in the manner reported.

The Association has repeatedly requested the Attorney-General to bring the law on this point to the attention of the police commanders concerned and to restrain them from overstepping their powers. A small booklet on the Right to Demonstrate (so far only in Hebrew, soon also in English and Arabic) is available at the Association, P.O.B. 8273, Jerusalem.

MICHAEL J. BERGER,
Hon. Sec.
Association for Civil Rights

Jerusalem.

*He has since done so. — Ed. J.P.

TV SERVICE ADS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir. — One of the concerns expressed by our government in weighing the possibility of approving cable television is that pornography might creep into our homes. Yet, one must wonder whether this possibility would be any more distasteful than some of the service ads presently dished up to us.

It was only slightly offensive seeing "macho" man become sexually rejuvenated after stuffing his mouth with dried fruits and nuts and

then floating through the air to attack his delighted lover (given his mid-drift bulge he probably would crush her rather than stimulate her). But TV House's latest attempt to encourage us to eat of Israel's produce by parading across our screens braless women in tight-clad yellow sweaters, dispensing grapefruits is not only sexist, but downright obscene. Indeed, our grapefruit salesgirls make TV deserving of the name, the "boob tube."

DAVID FORMAN

NO SYMBOLISM INVOLVED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir. — In his review, "Wiesel sells books" (March 18), David Mesher is mistaken in stating, "She (Ellen S. Fine) seems not to know that Gyula, the name of a character in 'The Accident,' means redemption."

My late husband, the Jewish Hungarian artist Gyula Zilzer, was a

close friend of Eli Wiesel and the prototype of Gyula in "The Accident." Their friendship is described in this novel — no symbolism is involved in the real name of a real person.

MARY ZILZER

Jerusalem.

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